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News

A look at rookie MP Sloan's underdog leadership campaign

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

One of two social conservatives in the race to become the next Conservative Party leader, rookie Ontario MP Derek Sloan is widely viewed as an underdog—having picked up the fewest notable endorsements out of the

Continued on page 14

News

More nuanced, test-focused approach needed to reopen Canada-U.S. border, say experts

A bipartisan group of U.S. lawmakers has called for Canada and the United States to 'immediately craft a comprehensive framework for phased reopening of the border.'



A spokesperson for Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland says decisions on reopening the Canada-U.S. border will be 'made by Canadians, for Canadians.' *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

BY NEIL MOSS

With reports of another rolling, 30-day extension to the closure of the Canada-U.S. border

to non-essential crossings, border experts say little progress is expected as long as COVID-19 cases continue to climb in the United States, while some say a more

nuanced, phased approach should be taken in reopening the border.

The border has been closed since March 21, with that closure

Continued on page 16

News

Wernick's warning of political violence reflects increasing polarization, say politicians, experts

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

In the wake of an armed man crashing his truck through Rideau Hall gates and threatening Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, some are recalling the stark warning of political violence more than a year before from then-Privy Council Clerk Michael Wernick. And while the timing of the former top public servant raising his concerns in the midst of a scandal still seems oddly chosen to some political watchers and security experts, they say the sentiment was true then and rings truer now.

In his opening remarks Feb. 21 addressing the House Justice Committee studying the SNC-Lavalin scandal, Mr. Wernick spoke about his fears about the rise of political violence.

"I worry about the rising tides of incitements to violence, when people use terms like treason and traitor in open discourse. Those are the words that lead to assassination. I'm worried that somebody is going to be shot in this country this year, during the federal campaign," said Mr. Wernick, who was recently hired by the accounting and consulting

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News

Trudeau's penchant for political appointees shows lack of appreciation for ambassadors' work: former senior diplomat

BY NEIL MOSS

As Prime Minister Justin Trudeau selected another political appointee for one of Canada's

Continued on page 13



HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

Les Linklater tapped to oversee federal COVID-19 testing and contract tracing



Les Linklater was previously an associate deputy minister at Public Services and Procurement Canada who was charged with repairing the Phoenix pay system. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Les Linklater, the federal bureaucrat that was tasked with fixing the Phoenix pay system, has now been charged with leading the federal effort on COVID-19 testing and contract tracing at Health Canada.

The Canadian government is now working with provinces on a contract tracing app to anonymously catalogue individuals who have been in contact with those who have tested positive for COVID-19.

Mr. Linklater took on the new role—officially, federal lead for COVID-19 testing, contact tracing, and data management strategies—on July 8.

Since the COVID-19 pandemic hit Canada, more than 3.2 million Canadians have been tested for the virus with 107,590 testing positively. As of July 13, 8,783 people have died.

Mr. Linklater was a Public Services and Procurement Canada associate deputy minister, where his work involved fixing the federal government's problem-plagued pay system.

Mr. Linklater told members of the House Government Operations Committee on June 16 that the government has a "long-term plan to stabilize the payroll system, including the salaries of public servants who have been hired to support our efforts."

Deputy House Speaker Bruce Stanton will not run for re-election

Without an election in sight, Deputy House Speaker **Bruce Stanton** has already announced that the 43rd Parliament will be his last.

Local media reported last month that the MP for Simcoe North, Ont., won't seek re-election. He has represented the central Ontario riding under the Conservative banner since 2006.

He cited the traditionally short lifespan of minority Parliaments for his early announcement.

Over the last two Parliaments, Mr. Stanton has served as the deputy Speaker of the House of Commons and the chair of the Committee of the Whole. From 2011 to 2015, he served as the assistant deputy chair of the committee of the whole.



Bruce Stanton, pictured at a House of Commons Board of Internal Economy meeting on Dec. 7, 2017, has been an MP since 2006. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Former high-ranking civil servant Peter Aykroyd dies at 98

A former adviser to the cabinet of past prime minister **Pierre Elliott Trudeau**, **Peter Aykroyd** died on July 11 at the age of 98.

While serving in the Privy Council as an adviser to Mr. Trudeau's cabinet, Mr. Aykroyd was the co-drafter of orders-in-council that created the ministry of environment and the then-ministry of urban affairs.

Throughout a career in public service, Mr. Aykroyd led the public relations effort for Canada's centennial commemoration in 1967. He later was the Transportation Development Agency deputy chair and assistant deputy minister at Transport Canada.

The father of Hollywood star **Dan Aykroyd** would later document the centennial in his 1992 book, *The Anniversary Compulsion*.

He also worked for the National Capital Commission in the 1950s and 1960, where he was the chief engineer of the Gatineau Parkway and director of historical preservation.

Leona Alleslev steps down as Tory deputy leader



Leona Alleslev became the Conservative Party's deputy leader in December 2019. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The Conservative Party lost its second-in-command after **Leona Alleslev** stepped down in order to endorse **Peter MacKay** for the next Tory leader.

"The selection of the next leader of the Conservative Party of Canada is too important a decision for me to stand to the side," Ms. Alleslev tweeted on July 12. The

next day she endorsed the last leader of the federal Progressive Conservatives.

In 2018, then-Liberal MP Ms. Alleslev crossed the floor to join the Conservative caucus. Fourteen months later, she was appointed the party's deputy leader following the 2019, which saw it fail to unseat the governing Liberals.

A former logistics officer in the Canadian Air Force, Ms. Alleslev has represented Aurora-Oak Ridges-Richmond Hill, Ont., in the House of Commons since 2015. As her party's foreign affairs critic, she sits on the House Foreign Affairs and Canada-China Relations committees. She also served as parliamentary secretary to then Public Services and Procurement minister **Judy Foote** while a Liberal MP.

In endorsing Mr. MacKay, she said "Canada needs a leader who has the experience and a plan to tackle the priorities of our time."

Mr. MacKay is up against Conservative MPs **Erin O'Toole** and **Derek Sloan** and 2015 Tory candidate **Leslyn Lewis** in the leadership election, voting for which wraps up Aug. 21.

Peter MacKay has Zellers nostalgia

Just because he's in the middle of a leadership campaign doesn't mean **Peter MacKay** can't have a little fun.

After fellow leadership candidate **Erin O'Toole** liked a tweet championing the decline of Canadian companies like Sears, Zellers, and Eaton's, a Zellers Twitter parody account called for all Tory leadership candidate "to share their favourite Zellers store moment."

"If there is one thing that should unite all candidates, it is a love for the iconic Canadian brand that is Zellers," the mock release suggested.

Mr. MacKay seemingly agreed.

"The first time I remember Christmas shopping was with my grandmother at @TheZellersStore in New Glasgow. I have many memories of shopping there with her and my mother. Going to Zellers from a rural community outside New Glasgow was like going to New York City!" he tweeted.

Some believed Mr. MacKay was responding sincerely. Although Mr. MacKay was quick to assert he knew it was a gag.

"Do people not have a sense of humour on @Twitter anymore? Have some fun and enjoy your weekend!"



Peter MacKay tweeted that going to Zellers was like going to New York City. *The Hill Times* file photograph

Svend Robinson to become J.S. Woodsworth resident scholar at Simon Fraser University



Svend Robinson was an NDP MP from 1979 to 2004. *The Hill Times* photograph by Samantha Wright Allen

Former NDP MP **Svend Robinson** will be working at the university in the riding he represented for 25 years in the House of Commons as a resident scholar.

Simon Fraser University announced that Mr. Robinson will join its faculty as a J.S.

Woodsworth resident scholar in the fall.

As part of the role, Mr. Robinson will teach a humanities seminar and take part in local initiatives through the university's Institute for the Humanities.

As the MP for the Burnaby-area from 1979 to 2004, he represented an area that included SFU's Burnaby campus.

He was the first openly gay MP and the first MP to be detained for civil disobedience. Mr. Robinson ran for election in 2006 and 2019, but finished second in both contests.

The post that he will be occupying is named after **J.S. Woodsworth**, who was the first leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and an MP from 1921 to 1942.

Former Hill journalist Simon Doyle to join Compass Rose



Simon Doyle is a former editor at *The Wire Report* and *The Lobby Monitor*. *The Hill Times* file photograph

Former Parliament Hill reporter **Simon Doyle** will be joining *Compass Rose*, the firm's founder **Jacquie LaRocque** announced earlier this week.

Most recently, Mr. Doyle was a communications adviser for the Calian Group. He worked on Parliament Hill as a reporter and editor with *The Lobby Monitor* and *The Wire Report*, sister publications of *The Hill Times*. His work has also appeared in *The Globe and Mail* and *The Financial Post*.

"Our entire *Compass Rose* team is obviously *thrilled* to soon welcome the ever-accomplished Simon Doyle. I have known Simon for many, many years and personally could not be happier to work with him now," Ms. LaRocque tweeted on July 13.

At *Compass Rose*, Mr. Doyle will join fellow Parliamentary Press Gallery alum **Bea Vongdouangchanh**, who was a *Hill Times* reporter and deputy editor from 2005 to 2016.

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News

Prison watchdog has 'grave' concerns that CSC rates Indigenous, Black inmates as higher risk

Disproportionate number of Black and Indigenous offenders placed in higher security institutions by the CSC 'doesn't add up,' says Sen. Bernard.

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

Indigenous and Black prisoners continue to be more likely to be placed in higher security prisons, which justice advocates say is a clear example of systemic racism within the Correctional Service of Canada, leading to longer sentences and unfair treatment.

Faced with already high rates of federal incarceration disproportionate to these populations in Canada, new data released by the Correctional Service of Canada show how it exacerbates the unfair treatment both Black and Indigenous prisoners face, said Independent Senator Kim Pate.

"At the root is a fundamental misunderstanding, or refusal, to accept that systemic discrimination exists," said Sen. Pate (Ontario), calling it a "massive problem."

The latest numbers, released to *The Hill Times* last week, are yet another data point in a long trend Canada's correctional investigators have tracked over the past two decades, and come as no surprise to the current watchdog, Ivan Zinger.

Both he and Sen. Pate pointed to silence from the CSC following a 2018 Supreme Court decision that found the agency's risk assessment tools may discriminate against Indigenous offenders, a determination also made by the Canadian Human Rights Commission years before. Those assessment tools help determine whether a prisoner should be placed under more security, and are considered when deciding parole eligibility. Both Black and Indigenous offenders are more likely to serve longer sentences, and remain beyond their eligibility for statutory release, successive reports by the prison watchdog have found.

"If the risk assessment tools aren't reliable and valid for Indigenous people and are over classifying people, then you've got a systemic issue and that's of grave concern to my office," said Mr. Zinger.

The CSC did not respond by filing deadline to questions about what it has done to address that court decision and Mr. Zinger's concerns.

"Even when the Supreme Court of Canada judgment tells the service to retool their risk assessment measures, the service has yet to do that, to publicly respond to that," to ensure those tools are both culturally sensitive and are reliable for these populations, said Mr. Zinger.

Such tools need to be designed "from the ground up" and better assess an inmate's circumstances so they aren't penalized—as is the case now, he said—for coming from communities where there are low unemployment rates, a breakdown

in the welfare system, a lack of work opportunities, or high rates of substance abuse.

Though Indigenous people make up less than five per cent of Canada's population, they accounted for 30.14 per cent—or 4,135 inmates—of the total in-custody prison population of 13,720 in 2019-20. Of that, 36.5 per cent were sent to maximum security, 31.6 per cent to medium, 24 per cent to minimum, and 23.2 per cent weren't classified. In 2014-15, the CSC's numbers indicate 28 per cent of the maximum security prison population was Indigenous.

The number of Indigenous people in prisons has been "creeping up" every year, noted Mr. Zinger, and that's true of where they are placed.

For Black prisoners, the CSC's totals are still slightly under those provided by the Office of the Correctional Investigator, which reported a total of 1,328 Black inmates by the end of 2019-20, while the CSC reported 1,308 offenders classified as Black, and in the Caribbean and sub-Saharan African ethnic groupings, which the CSC said are counted separately though the categories likely represent Black offenders, are not limited to them. Using the CSC's numbers for these three groups, (which the prison watchdog counts together) Black inmates make up roughly 9.5 of the prison population, but only 3.5 per cent of the Canadian population. A further 12.7 per cent were in maximum security last fiscal year, followed by 9.7 per cent in medium, 6.5 per cent in minimum (with 10.1 per cent not yet classified).

For comparison Caucasian prisoners make up 49 per cent of the prisons, and 39.8 per cent in maximum security, 49 per cent in medium, and 56.2 per cent in minimum.

Placement of Black inmates 'doesn't add up': Sen. Bernard

These numbers aren't new to Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard (East Preston, N.S.), a researcher who has long studied anti-Black racism and before being named a Senator in 2016 was contracted by the CSC to prepare a policy paper for the service's National Ethnocul-



Correctional Investigator of Canada Ivan Zinger, pictured in October 2017, says he's frustrated the CSC has yet to say how it will address a 2018 Supreme Court decision that found its risk assessment tools may be discriminatory. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

tural Advisory Committee to address the needs of ethnocultural inmates.

Canada needs a very serious review of the classification system, she said, to unpack how systemic racism affects a person's sentence. From her observations over the years and a recent Senate committee study, she said it's clear racial bias and stereotyping has an impact on where prisoners are placed.

Black men have also spoken about how time is added to their sentences, said Sen. Bernard. In some cases, a fight might be racially motivated and in response to a slur, but the reaction is punished rather than the person who utters the slur.

"How is it that Black prisoners are classified at a higher level of risk, but research shows they're less likely to reoffend?" said Sen. Bernard of data that was laid out in a 2013 prison watchdog case study focused on Black experiences in prisons. "That doesn't make sense. That doesn't add up."

In particular, Black offenders are labelled as gang members based sometimes solely on the neighbourhoods they're from, the colours they wear, or the use of what guards might consider gang signs, noted human rights lawyer Anthony Morgan, who co-founded of the Sentencing and Parole Project.

"It could be all or none of those things and an individual's life ends up being dramatically shaped by this amorphous definition," said Mr. Morgan, adding that the definitions the CSC uses to determine gang affiliation aren't clear and amount to an "enormously broad layer of discretion."

That gang affiliation label comes with a heightened risk in the system's eyes, and it's "the one issue that seems to both distinguish and define the Black inmate experience," said the 2013 case study, noting that while Black inmates are twice as likely to have a gang affiliation, the vast majority—70 per cent—were not gang members.

"This notion of Black dangerousness is something that pervades our society, but ends up being most pernicious when enacted through our systems, like our justice system," he said.

The CSC has "proven they cannot do this job efficiently," added Mr. Morgan, who has advocated for these sorts of assessments to be handled by outside mental health

or community organizations.

Better program, rehabilitation at lower security

Classification also affects a prisoner's potential for rehabilitation. The higher the security classification, the fewer the available programs and work opportunities, noted Mr. Zinger.

"The higher the security, the tougher it is to address the unique needs of that population. It's not in maximum security that you will find innovative programs that have been tailored to be responsive to Indigenous culture," he said, adding it's also difficult for offenders to access substance abuse, anger management, and family support programs.

The recidivism rates among Indigenous offenders is "excessively high," and well over 60 per cent in the Prairie regions, said Mr. Zinger.

"That's within the control of correctional services," he said, and once people are in prison there are correctional outcomes they can improve, "and they have failed to do that."

His reports have also outlined how Indigenous offenders are released much later after statutory release eligibility, are more likely to be placed in segregation, more likely to be subject to use of force, and more likely to self harm. And, once back in the community they're more likely to be suspended and revoked.

Meanwhile, Black prisoners, as Sen. Bernard noted, have better release outcomes, according to the 2013 case study which at the time called it a "counter-intuitive" finding that was considered beyond the scope of the analysis at the time.

The CSC has the leverage and spends an "inordinate amount" costing roughly \$120,500 per year to house an inmate, Mr. Zinger noted, with an inmate-to-staff ratio that exceeded one-to-one, making it among the richest correctional systems in the world.

That price tag should come with outstanding correctional outcomes, argued Mr. Zinger, who has echoed his predecessor's calls for significant reallocations of this budget.

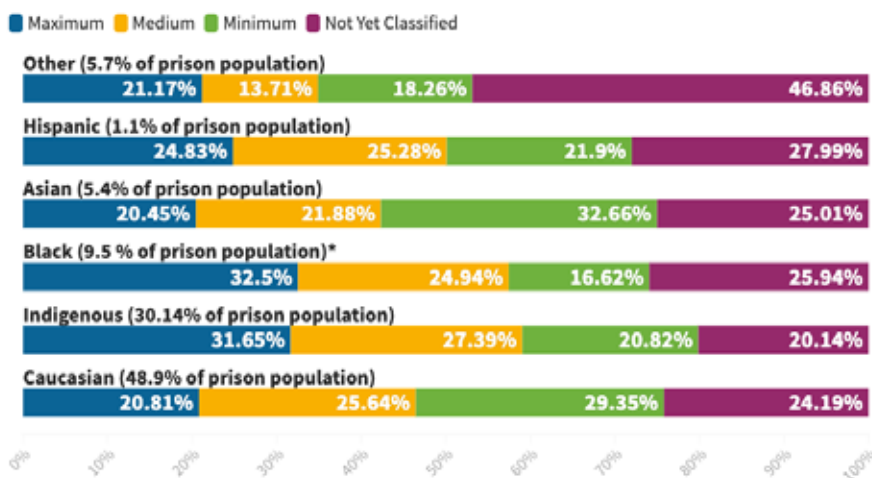
Though there's broad recognition at the political level and among experts that something has to be done, Mr. Zinger said no government has been able to stop or reverse the trend of what he's called the Indigenization of Canada's prison system.

"It is time now to act, and I hope that this becomes a priority for the government."

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In-custody offenders by ethnic grouping and security level for 2019-20

Black and Indigenous offenders are more likely to be placed in higher security prisons.



Source: Correctional Service of Canada. *refers to inmates classified as Black, and of the Caribbean and sub-Saharan African ethnic groupings

Rideau Hall rampage could have ended very differently

The RCMP officers involved are to be commended on their poise and patience. I cannot imagine a similar peaceful surrender if someone crashed the gates of the White House.



Scott Taylor
Inside Defence



A serving soldier on active duty assembles a small arsenal of loaded weapons and drives halfway across Canada to deliver a 'wake-up' call with an attack on Rideau Hall—that is serious stuff, far beyond a simple 'mental health' episode, writes Scott Taylor. Screenshot courtesy of CTV News

did make a point of sending a copy of his two-page letter to his Ranger supervisor prior to the intrusion at Rideau Hall.

That supervisor had the presence of mind to call 911 and was therefore able to assist the RCMP during their prolonged negotiations with Hurren prior to his arrest.

As a serving member of the CAF, Hurren would have taken an oath of loyalty to the Queen of Canada, and therefore it seems incredible that he would have pursued this desperate course of action.

It would also appear that his connection to the Canadian military and respect for the institution were in no way diminished or sullied. Arriving in Ottawa on Canada Day after a 28-hour drive from Bowsman, Hurren's first order

of business was to pay a visit to the Canadian War Museum. Unfortunately, for the luckless Hurren, the COVID-19 pandemic dealt him yet another blow as the museum has been locked down since mid-March.

While this particular incident was resolved in an anti-climatic manner, it could have ended much differently. A serving soldier on active duty assembles a small arsenal of loaded weapons and drives halfway across Canada to deliver a "wake-up" call with an attack on Rideau Hall. That is serious stuff, far beyond a simple "mental health" episode.

The RCMP officers involved are to be commended on their poise and patience. I cannot imagine a similar peaceful surrender if someone crashed the gates of the White House intent on sending a "wake-up call" to Donald Trump.

Scott Taylor is the editor and publisher of *Esprit de Corps* magazine. *The Hill Times*

OTTAWA—In the early hours of Thursday, July 2, there was a bizarre incident in the nation's capital. A pickup truck smashed through the security gates at Rideau Hall. The impact disabled the vehicle and the driver continued his intrusion on foot. The RCMP confronted the man, and after a 90-minute negotiation, 46-year-old Corey Hurren was arrested and taken into custody.

Rideau Hall is the official residence of Governor General Julie Payette and since 2015, Rideau Cottage, located on the same grounds, has been home to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his family.

Neither Payette nor the Trudeau family were at home at the time of the incident.

However, we now know that Hurren was well armed with several weapons and that he allegedly intended to send a "wake-up call" to Canadians. Hurren had detailed his troubled thoughts in a two-page letter, the purported contents of which have subsequently been reported in the media.

In addition to personal financial issues stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic, Hurren allegedly felt that Canada was becoming a "communist dictatorship."

In the letter, Hurren also allegedly apologized to his family and friends in advance for the actions he was about to take and noted that he did not want to go on living with the pain. In other words, his letter reads like the final words of a man intent on committing suicide by cop.

One can only bet that had either the Governor General or prime minister been on the premises and endangered by the armed Hurren, such would have been the outcome.

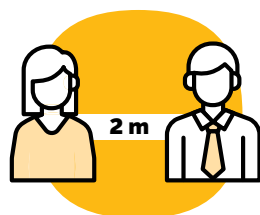
What makes Hurren's actions so bizarre is that he is not some run-of-the-mill conspiracy theory whack job, he is, in fact, a serving member of the Canadian Armed Forces.

Documents show that from April 1997 until October 2000, Hurren was a reservist with the 10th Field Artillery Regiment based in Regina, Sask. He had been released with the rank of corporal. Last year, Hurren re-enlisted as a member of the 4th Canadian Ranger Patrol Group. As part of the CAF effort to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic, Hurren was placed on active duty.

In addition to his service as a Ranger, Hurren ran a sausage business in his hometown of Bowsman, Man. It was this business that Hurren felt would not recover from the economic impact of the pandemic.

While none of the weapons or ammunition found in Hurren's possession at the time of his arrest were CAF property, he

As more businesses and services reopen, and with social gatherings increased to 10 people, we all must continue our efforts to protect each other.



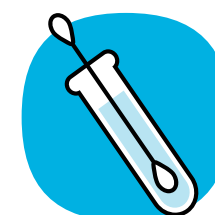
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Wear a face covering when physical distancing is a challenge.



Continue to **wash hands frequently.**



Get tested if you are worried you may have COVID-19, or have been exposed to the virus.

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Opinion



The fight against cybercrime started well before the pandemic, but has grown in importance. By adopting a spirit of partnership and working together for the good of society and the economy, the public and private sectors can take the necessary measures to mitigate the risk of criminal cyber activity, writes Derek Manky. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

The lessons of COVID-19 apply to cybersecurity, too, and we must learn them

To enact meaningful change, we should follow the lead of recent public health strategies that, if implemented correctly, can lead to bold action on cybersecurity.



Derek Manky

Opinion

As security experts know, one of the biggest areas of risk is simple human nature. Consider that it was accepted wisdom that a global pandemic was a matter of when, not if. But in the face of so many competing, pressing, or timely priorities, it's hardly surprising that pandemic planning sat at the bottom of our collective to-do list, forcing us to play catch-up when it inevitably arrived.

This is true in the world of cybersecurity. The mass shift towards working from home and the sudden surge in COVID-19-related cyberattacks on governments,

health organizations, and businesses has made it harder than ever for them to defend themselves against attackers. For years, organizations opted to make do with insufficient levels of protection, or assumed attacks were something that happened to other companies, and decided to take their chances. These options are no longer viable.

As a cyber-threat expert, I see many parallels between public health and cybersecurity. Thanks to heroic education efforts on the part of experts, millions of us now know that simple, routine tasks that once seemed harmless now have serious consequences in the age of COVID-19. A similar education must also occur in the world of cybersecurity. As we emerge from strict lockdowns, the ideal approach is for governments, the private sector, and academia to put aside their siloed approaches or competing agendas and come together with a shared purpose and a clear vision. We can take inspiration from global initiatives, such as the Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace and the World Economic Forum's Centre for Cybersecurity, both designed to tackle this challenge.

But to enact meaningful change, we should follow the lead of recent public health strategies that, if implemented correctly, can lead to bold action on cybersecurity.

Education is critical. In a pandemic, health-care professionals deal with the illness, but success rests with the ability of everyday people to avoid getting sick in the first place. The sense of responsibility is the same in cybersecurity. Email remains one of the largest entry points for cybercriminals. They use their knowledge of human psychology and gaps in security hygiene to

get workers to open an email and unwittingly let them in. The more savvy workers become to the risks they face, the less likely they are to become victims. The easiest and most effective solution is to make cybersecurity education and training part of everyone's development. Government, businesses, and educators must come together and develop a long-term strategy to help Canadians become more aware of the risks of functioning in a digital world as part of their broader education.

We know it can be done. Everyone has learned very quickly the role they have to play in stopping the spread of COVID-19, and to constantly wash hands, wear masks, and physically distance. Now we need to make everyone aware of how to follow basic passwords and other security polices as part of our daily hygiene routines.

We need more front-line defenders. Even before the onset of the pandemic, we faced a growing cybersecurity skills gap that threatens our fledgling digital economy. That's especially true in Canada. In a survey we conducted this past March, 89 per cent of Canadian IT managers agreed that the cybersecurity skills shortage has created additional cyber risks for their organization. By comparison, 73 per cent of their U.S. counterparts felt the same. Clearly the shortage is having a direct impact on the ability of organizations to adequately defend themselves.

Here is a second area where the public and private sector, working with schools, can make a significant impact. Front-line workers have been placed under great pressure during the pandemic, and demand for them in some areas spiked. Clearly the risk and stakes are far higher for the brave people dealing with COVID-19 head on, but

there's a lesson in here for the cyber world. We need a national strategy to attract people to the area of cybersecurity and get them properly trained for the threats we face in order to build an adequate long-term defence. If we don't have enough soldiers to fight this fight, our innovation economy will struggle to keep pace.

Encourage sharing and collaboration. When the pandemic struck, we immediately saw the effects of the lack of protective equipment, masks, ventilators, and much more. Many of those with equipment found their stockpiles of masks to be too old or defective to be of use. As well, individual researchers identified different aspects of the virus in isolation. When those findings were compared against data generated by other experts around the globe, they began to paint a clearer picture of the behaviour and symptoms of COVID-19.

In the world of cyber, the viruses are numerous and cyber attackers are constantly innovating. For that reason, the technologies that counter them are evolving faster than ever in order to keep pace. Artificial intelligence, machine learning, and compatibility with popular cloud-based software are regular features of modern security tools, and are increasingly necessary to mount an effective defence. Relying on tools that may have worked a decade ago is a risky strategy for any organization, especially for government, which store massive amounts of sensitive data.

Working together, governments and businesses should follow in the lead of public health officials and take a partnership approach. Collaborate with each other widely, and share information and intelligence in real time, and work together towards a common goal, rather than in silos. Like COVID-19, cyber threats ignore borders and jurisdictions. This level of integration across jurisdictions is important to building a stronger, more resilient digital economy.

The fight against cybercrime started well before the pandemic, but has grown in importance. By adopting a spirit of partnership and working together for the good of society and the economy, the public and private sectors can take the necessary measures to mitigate the risk of criminal cyber activity.

Derek Manky is chief, security insights and global threat alliances at Fortinet's FortiGuard Labs.

The Hill Times

COVID-19 has opened the door for conversations about health-care reform, but are we willing to listen?

Despite the tragedies of COVID-19, the recovery phase gives us an opportunity for significant policy renewal to help Canada's sick.



Andrea Seale & Pamela Valentine

Comment

Since the onset of COVID-19, governments worldwide have introduced new programs and policies to prevent widespread collapse of either economies or health systems. We have witnessed rapid action, and much of it has been creative and experimental. It has awakened new optimism that we can strengthen the systems that support our most vulnerable.

As we move past the containment phase of COVID-19 and into recovery, we need to reflect on the policy innovation we have seen, and we should start by looking at the gaps COVID-19 has highlighted—gaps that have been there all along but that can no longer be ignored. One such gap is the inadequate way we support employees when they are unable to work because they are sick.

The EI Sickness Benefit has been virtually unchanged since the 1970s. To put this into context, it was set up at a time when

smoking on planes was legal, bell-bottoms were king, and universal medicare was just getting on its feet.

It gives insured employees up to 15 weeks of financial assistance if they can't work for medical reasons, provided they've qualified with more than 600 hours already worked. Although it has its drawbacks—like a rigid “on or off” system that works against gradual workforce reintegration and doesn't work for people living with episodic conditions—it serves as an important safety net for workers who need time to recover from serious illness or injury.

But benefits are capped at 15 weeks, whether or not the worker is healthy enough to return to work. Many reach the end of their benefits before recovering and are forced with the difficult decision: lose their jobs or continue recovery. Canadians faced with that decision can

include people with diseases that can be recoverable, like some cancers, or episodic in nature like multiple sclerosis (MS), both of which need a longer recovery period and increased flexibility than the existing Sickness Benefit allows. For example, the average length of treatment for people with breast and colon cancer—two of the most commonly diagnosed cancers for Canadians—ranges between 26 and 37 weeks. Unemployment among people living with MS is almost 60 per cent, which speaks to the need for flexibility and extension in this benefit to keep people attached to their workplace as they deal with the unpredictability and severity of relapses (episodic flare-ups or temporary debilitation).

Our federal government has committed to extending the Sickness Benefit from 15 to at least 26 weeks. This commitment was reinforced in the minister of employment, workforce development, and disability inclusion's mandate letter and was included in the 2019 election platforms of both the NDP and Bloc Québécois. Now, it is time to make the financial commitment. This is not the time to slow down, but rather the government should use this as an opportunity to fix a hole in one of our country's crucial social safety nets. With a policy change so close to the finish line, it's time for the final sprint. Commitments have been made, the mechanisms are in place and the end goal is well within sight.

During the COVID-19 response, governments quickly and aggressively experimented with policy innovation to give individuals and businesses the support they needed. Post-COVID, they will be taking stock of what worked best, where innovation has led to new efficiency, and how delivery of support was most effective. It is the perfect time to rethink and redesign our overall support framework for the needs of the 21st century.

And we need to make changes. We need to think about lowering the 600-hour threshold. We need to consider episodic disability. And we need our government to follow through on its promise to extend the sickness benefit to 26 weeks, at a minimum. A new multi-stakeholder report reveals that those groups and sectors most affected by the EI Sickness Benefit agree it's time for an update. Their 10 recommendations will bring greater equity into a system that affects us all.

Despite the tragedies of COVID-19, the recovery phase gives us an opportunity for significant policy renewal to help Canada's sick. The year 2020 is our chance to fix what has long been broken. Modernizing the EI Sickness Benefit would be a step in the right direction. Let's take this opportunity.

Pamela Valentine is president and CEO of the MS Society of Canada and Andrea Seale is CEO of the Canadian Cancer Society.
The Hill Times



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Editorial

The response to calls for action on racism is what's really disappointing

The RCMP says it's "disappointed" by those who took note of the very real dichotomy between the arrest of the white man who barrelled through the gates of Rideau Hall armed to the teeth with a message for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and the Indigenous people and people of colour who've died after police turned up in response to calls to check on their well-being.

Among those who made a public comment were NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh and Green parliamentary leader Elizabeth May, who on July 8 drew comparisons between the 90 minutes police spent talking down Corey Hurren in the July 2 incident and the recent deaths of Ejaz Choudry, Rodney Levi, Chantel Moore, D'Andre Campbell, and Regis Korchinski-Paquet.

Mr. Singh said "yes" when asked if he believed the July 2 arrest would have gone differently had the suspect not been white.

In a July 10 statement, RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki and National Police Federation president Brian Sauv  said that to "suggest a more violent conclusion would have been inevitable if the suspect was of another race is speculative and disheartening to the responding officers, their families, and all partners who helped successfully and professionally resolve this threat."

The RCMP members "responded quickly and effectively to end a volatile situation using successful de-escalation techniques taught and practised by all RCMP officers," the statement said, also noting that "RCMP officers successfully resolve the vast majority of crisis situations without using force."

Without ever mentioning the phrase "systemic racism"—which has been giving them some trouble—Commissioner Lucki and Mr. Sauv  said they "welcome the constructive and necessary dialogue evolving across the country."

But if the conversation was truly welcomed, the RCMP wouldn't be circling the wagons and would instead be engaging in a more public conversation about what it is about the institution that leads others to make these kinds of observations.

Closing ranks is a poor look when one of the RCMP's first Indigenous women constables is involved in a proposed class-action lawsuit against the force for racial discrimination.

Leadership has to come from the top, whether it's the head of the RCMP, the prime minister, other federal party leaders, provincial premiers, or chiefs of municipal police forces.

Instead, what we have is leadership turning on people of colour and forcing them to answer for, or even take responsibility for, the very systems that oppress them.

To wit, Bloc Qu b cois Leader Yves-Fran ois Blanchet went so far as to suggest earlier this month that it's Mr. Singh—the only person of colour to lead a federal party—who is to blame for racial unrest in Quebec.

According to Global News, Mr. Blanchet said Mr. Singh "should look himself in the mirror and ask if he has created a serious social crisis and a serious divide" because Mr. Singh rightly took exception to Quebec Premier Fran ois Legault not recognizing that systemic racism exists in the province.

It's a tale as old as time: a person of colour ascends to the rarified air of power, but when they dare use their platform to speak about inequities or injustices they see while up there, they are quickly made out to be the troublemaker.

If anyone should be "disappointed," it's Indigenous people and people of colour in Canada.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Nuclear power a safely regulated solution, says stakeholder

Re: "Radioactive waste: a big problem for New Brunswick's proposed new nuclear reactors," (*The Hill Times*, July 6, p. 3). An opinion piece printed in *The Hill Times* on July 6, 2020, authored by Gordon Edwards and Susan O'Donnell contains several misunderstandings about waste, reactor technology, and safeguards which we wish to correct for the benefit of your readers.

Most world experts assert that to achieve sizeable greenhouse gas reductions, non-emitting nuclear power generation is required. It complements intermittent renewables, such as wind and solar. We are all truly concerned about our environment, and understand innovation is critical to achieving our goals. In New Brunswick, we are an innovation leader in the emerging Small Modular Reactor (SMR) energy sector.

Mr. Edwards and Ms. O'Donnell erroneously claim the proposed reactor technolo-

gies in New Brunswick will create more waste than currently stored at the existing Lepreau power generation site. In fact, the waste produced by the advanced SMRs will be significantly reduced.

They also raise fears as if Canada has no regulatory oversight. The industry is strictly regulated by the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission, highly regarded throughout the world, which monitors existing facilities as well as technology development.

We are proud to support both Moltex Canada and ARC Nuclear Canada, Inc., as they focus on solutions to provide safe, clean, reliable, non-emitting, and affordable energy solutions that support Canada as it rises to solve environmental challenges.

Colleen d'Entremont
 President, Atlantic Clean Energy Alliance
 Saint John, N.B.

Leave no one behind in global pandemic response, reader writes

Globally, COVID-19 case numbers continue to rise. The health, security, and economies of all countries, including Canada's, are at risk. On June 27, Canada committed \$300-million in new and additional aid towards an emergency, humanitarian global response. This is a good start. However, an amount closer to \$1.5-billion is needed to help ensure access to medicines, diagnostics, and vaccines, and tackle the growing global humanitarian crises.

It is also important that Canada commit to a permanent increase in Canadian aid (Official Development Assistance) to ensure progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) so that those most vulnerable in dealing with humanitarian emergencies have access to the services they need.

Weaknesses throughout our global health systems are many. We need to #LeaveNoOneBehind. On April 21, the United Nations

projected that COVID-19 could double the number of people facing severe food insecurity worldwide to 265 million. Economies are being devastated, critical food supply chains are being disrupted, and famines of biblical proportions are in the offing. Many people suffering from food insecurity are also being impacted by climate change. Extreme weather events, the rise of pests, such as the current locust plague in East Africa, and the displacement of millions due to rising sea levels and changing global temperatures are threatening the food security of millions.

We need to ensure that everyone, everywhere has access to quality health services and that the most vulnerable communities are protected from the direct and indirect impacts of these global crises.

Marnie Shaw
 Calgary, Alta.

Kenney's tunnel vision for U.S. pipeline hurting Canadian interests, reader says

Why is Alberta Premier Jason Kenney so determined to keep his aim on the closest U.S. target to bust through the pipeline barriers? Why not test entries to the east or north?

What is in it for Alberta that Mr. Kenney is determined not to share with the rest of Canada to the point now that Irving Oil and Cenovus are now using the Panama Canal to transport the goods to the rest of Canada?

Alberta and the industry squandered valuable time in not testing softer borders across Canada and even more easterly into the U.S.

The battering ram approach may garner votes, but that is all that it will achieve given the U.S.' clear signal that it is steadily grow-

ing its share of the energy market globally. Why would it want more from Canada? Or to help Canada keep its precarious footing?

The window of opportunity now is closing via eastern portals to the south as lobby groups on a range of grounds are starting to protest the stateside presence.

And why is Mr. Kenney so determined to try to ram his way south via his current geographical targets? What would be in it for Alberta that he does not wish to share with the rest of us?

The above approach does not pass the whiff test for western political BS and is a cost to the overall best interests of the Canadian public.

Bev Kennedy
 Fredericton, N.B.

JUSTIN TRUDEAU BEATING HIMSELF UP



EDITORIAL

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Nelson and Winnie Mandela are pictured with Mila and Brian Mulrone on Parliament Hill on June 18, 1990. It was Mr. Mandela's first visit to Canada, four months after being released from 27 years in jail. On the eve of what would have been Nelson Mandela's birthday, South Africa remembers Canada's unwavering support for the anti-apartheid movement, writes High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jim Creskey

Don't silence the voice of justice when it matters

Recent global protests have shown that the battle against apartheid—much like the long-fought battle against slavery—continues in a much-larger war against global systemic, institutionalized racism.



Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo

Comment

The death of South Africa's ambassador to Denmark, Zindziswa "Zindzi" Mandela, the daughter of South Africa's late struggle heroes, has once again reminded me of the enduring legacy of her parents that she strove to continue. Like her mother, Winnie Nomzamo Mandela, and her father Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Zindzi was firm in her resolve to fight for justice and liberation of the oppressed.

The brutality of racism and the apartheid system left indelible scars that robbed her and many South Africans of a normal family life, childhood, and schooling. Today, the legacy of brutality and racism under

the thumb of a white minority government during apartheid continues to deprive Black South Africans of material freedom that has left South Africa in an unenviable economic situation.

to linger. For years, Black South Africans struggled to breathe freely as they were incessantly dehumanized and presented to the world as incapable of adapting to modern civilization. Nelson Mandela, from



Protesters participate in a rally against anti-Black racism and police brutality in Ottawa on June 5. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The silence and indifference of most in the international community when South Africa was suffering under apartheid was inexcusable. It was this silence that provided the fertile ground for a pernicious system of institutionalized racial segregation

whom we draw many lessons, devoted his life to fighting for justice. He fought for dignity against racism and human rights' abuse, eventually being sentenced to life imprisonment for his refusal to be silenced. The United Nations declared apartheid

a crime against humanity, but still, the oppression of non-whites in South Africa continued unabated.

The world is in flux. Global uncertainty abounds. Long-simmering tensions—whether brought on by racism or inequality—have surfaced. On the eve of what would have been Nelson Mandela's birthday, South Africa remembers Canada's unwavering support for the anti-apartheid movement.

In many ways, South Africa was that loud, obnoxious, racist uncle at the dinner table. Annoying, but best ignored and left unchallenged. And so the evil of apartheid and racism in South Africa became deeply rooted because of the inaction, the indifference, and the silence of those who stood to benefit from the system. Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia (1930–74), who played a key role in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), aptly said that: "Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted; the indifference of those who should have known better; the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most; that has made it possible for evil to triumph."

It was in the early 1980s that Canada's leadership bravely took the initiative and led the international community in an effort to untangle the Gordian knot that was apartheid South Africa, firmly placing this country on the "right side of history."

In June 1990, four months after his release from his 27-year imprisonment, Nelson Mandela became the first non-head of state to address a joint sitting of the Houses of Commons and the Senate in Canada. In his address, recognizing Canada's role in South Africa's fight against human rights' abuse and injustice, Nelson Mandela said: "We are made better human beings by the fact that you have reached out from across the seas to say that us, too, the rebels, the fugitives; the prisoners, deserve to be heard."

In June of this year, South Africa and Canada marked the 30-year anniversary of that momentous occasion, an occasion which would have been celebrated differently had it not been for necessary restrictions brought about by COVID-19. South Africa continues to appreciate the stance taken by Canada, risking its relations with some of its allies, in the ongoing fight against racism.

Unfortunately, recent global protests have shown that the battle against apartheid—much like the long-fought battle against slavery—continues in a much-larger war against global systemic, institutionalized racism.

On Sunday, July 18, the world will commemorate International Nelson Mandela Day. The Nelson Mandela Foundation encourages everybody to mark this day; to engage in activities that inspire change; to make a difference to someone, or a community that needs it most. In marking this day, the South African High Commission has partnered with Food for Thought, a non-profit organization, and Joe Thotungal, the award-winning chef and owner of Ottawa's Coconut Lagoon and Thali restaurants, to provide a meal to those who cannot cook for themselves, or who live in housing without adequate cooking facilities.

In the midst of COVID-19 health and safety advisories, your International Nelson Mandela Day activity could be as simple as introspection, reflection, and sharing some thoughts at home with friends and family on issues around racism, white privilege, human rights, and the dangers of indifference. I appeal to you not to become despondent, but to stand for what is right, because no one has to be treated inhumanly from cradle to grave because of skin colour.

Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo is high commissioner of the Republic of South Africa in Canada.

The Hill Times

Comment

It's dictator or bust for Trump

The U.S. president has adopted a scorched-earth campaign intended somehow to reverse the political devastation caused by his mishandling of COVID-19 and the racial justice movement.



Les Whittington

Need to Know

OTTAWA—U.S. President Trump seems increasingly like a mad king—besieged on all sides, raging away in the wreckage of his castle, vowing defeat and destruction to his endless list of perceived enemies.

His latest outrage, which led to renewed comparisons of the U.S. under Trump to a Third World dictatorship, came the night of July 10, as the president granted clemency to his long-time friend and convicted felon Roger Stone. Stone was facing a 40-month prison sentence for lying to the U.S. Congress during an investigation into whether Trump's campaign colluded with Russia in the 2016 election.

Stone's lying was in part to cover up for Trump, prosecutors had said, and his reprieve was denounced as a flagrant abuse of power that makes former president Richard Nixon look discrete. Yet Sen. Mitt Romney was the only Republican to quickly criticize the move. "An American president [commuting] the sentence of a person convicted by a jury of lying to shield that very president" constitutes "unprecedented, historic corruption," Romney said.

The affair capped a two-month period in which Trump has thrust aside whatever marginal notions he might have had of acceptable conduct, democratic norms, or reality. Instead he's adopted a scorched-earth campaign intended somehow to reverse the political devastation caused by his mishandling of COVID-19 and the racial justice movement. It marks a turning point in his White House tenure and, potentially, U.S. history.

His approach to the shocking virus upsurge in the U.S. is to basically claim it's not happening. With regard to the epochal demands for racial justice, Trump has, against the reported advice of his aides, decided his best hope is to respond with an outright appeal to white nationalists and racists. He has become, as some have said ironically, a "son of the Confederacy" as he defends symbols honouring those who



U.S. President Donald Trump's inflammatory language and pro-police stance are reminiscent of the likes of pro-segregationist former Alabama governor George Wallace, writes Les Whittington. *White House photograph by Tia Dufour*

fought to perpetuate slavery. His inflammatory language and pro-police stance are reminiscent of the likes of pro-segregationist former Alabama governor George Wallace.

There is no awareness of the need to seriously address officially sanctioned violence against Black people. Trump has called Black Lives Matter a "symbol of hate." Resisting efforts to remove statues that in many cases commemorate the pro-slavery side in the Civil War, Trump has tweeted, "This is a battle to save the Heritage, History, and Greatness of our Country!"

The enemy, he says, are thugs and fanatical leftists. In speeches that for their demagoguery and viciousness bear little resemblance to anything heard in modern American politics, Trump has been saying things like: "The radical left, they hate our history, they hate our values, and they hate everything we prize as Americans ... the left-wing mob is trying to demolish our heritage so they can replace it with a new repressive regime that they alone control. They're tearing down

statues, desecrating monuments, and purging dissenters. It's not the behaviour of a peaceful political movement; it's the behaviour of totalitarians and tyrants." Statues of Christ will not be exempt, Trump adds.

Recently, Trump talked up the use of force against demonstrators and threatened to turn the military loose on civilians. Continuing the relentless undermining of one of the crucial features of a functioning democracy—the independent administration of justice—the president fired one of the top prosecutors in New York who was investigating the conduct of Trump's associates. He also accused the U.S. Supreme Court of conducting a "political prosecution" against him by not backing his attempt to keep financial records secret. As part of an increasing use of executive orders, he has temporarily banned foreigners on employment visas, called for a 10-year sentence for anyone damaging a memorial, and ordered more flag-waving statues in a proposed "National Garden of American Heroes," honouring, among others, religious figures, police officers "killed

or injured in the line of duty" and "opponents of national socialism or international socialism."

Sidelining U.S. scientists despite rising COVID-19 deaths, Trump has demanded as part of a strategy to paper over his mishandling of the virus that schools fully reopen in the fall, even saying foreign post-secondary students would be kicked out of the U.S. otherwise. And, as part of a wider Republican campaign, Trump is working to suppress the Nov. 3 vote by falsely claiming mail-in ballots would promote voter fraud.

All this is happening amid the worst plunge in the president's poll standings yet, with independents and some Republican voters deserting Trump over his performance on COVID-19 and race. But there's three and a half months to go before voting day, and it's impossible to say which, if any, markers will hold up for that long, given the completely uncharted political territory Americans now find themselves in.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.

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When you win against Phoenix, it is but a Pyrrhic victory

Although Phoenix has provided me with fodder for several columns, it has been like a nagging toothache for almost four years.



Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect

OTTAWA—Three years ago this week, I said goodbye to the public service and began a new life as a weekly columnist for this newspaper. At the time, I wrote the following: “I do have good memories. ... However (among other things), having to recently deal with \$20,000 in Phoenix pay system overpayments sent a message: it was time to go.”

When I wrote those words, little did I know Phoenix would follow me in retirement and make my life, and that of many other current and former public servants, quite miserable.

With the news the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) and the government have settled on damages of up to \$2,500 for people affected by the Phoenix debacle, I felt I should share my news.

I won.

There is no exclamation mark there, nor should there be. Although Phoenix has provided me with fodder for several columns, it has been like a nagging toothache for almost four years.

A quick summary: I took leave without pay from Global Affairs in the summer of 2016 to work for the premier of Newfoundland and Labrador. While I was away, Phoenix continued to pay me. I kept track of the payments and was ignored when I offered to pay back the money accumulating in my bank account. I returned to Ottawa in December of 2016, and the issue was still unresolved. Finally, in February 2017, I was able to pay back the \$20,000 I owed.

I thought that was it, but unfortunately, in 2017, the system began to pay me erratically: one week I had zero pay, two weeks later, more than double. Unbeknownst to me, that was my net amount; my gross income was eight times my normal pay. And the government wanted the taxes back.

But rather than asking Revenue Canada, it wanted me to pay them. Had I been a current employee, I would not have had to pay back the taxes, but as a retiree, I was fair game.

As 2017 wore on, I pointed out the funds deposited in my account were equal to two pays. But it still wanted “its” money. I provided a detailed accounting from 2016 to 2017 and thought I was making headway. Then in 2018, a retroactive pay agreement I should have received was confiscated by the government. I was furious.

Over time, in conversations with at least a dozen employees of Public Services and Procurement Canada (PSPC), my calculations were often ignored with a comment that “I have to check Phoenix,” even though it was a clear case of “garbage in, garbage out.” One pay clerk provided me with a useful spreadsheet showing “ghost cheques” issued by Phoenix that I never received. While seeming friendly, they consistently fought my claims for a reimbursement.

Finally, this spring, PSPC transferred my file to a very capable pay officer at Global Affairs Canada. He admitted my case was the most complex he had seen, and promised to get to the bottom of it. In June, he wrote to say I would receive the compensation I sought.

It is a Pyrrhic victory. Over the last four years, I dedicated at least 50 hours each year to Phoenix: consulting my pay stubs, studying spreadsheets, calculating my

own accounts, writing PSPC, talking on the phone to pay clerks, dealing with Revenue Canada, writing Members of Parliament. That is more than 200 hours since 2016, or the equivalent of six weeks of work. And I have yet to receive a thorough explanation or apology.

Multiply my experience by the 200,000 people affected

by Phoenix. It is tens of millions of hours of misery. Time not knowing if the money would be returned, if taxes had to be paid, if one could pay the mortgage, or contemplate a transfer or a promotion.

I am glad PSAC managed to win the settlement from the government, and I hope other unions will get the same deal. It will be yet another burden on a cash-strapped treasury and brings the tab for Phoenix to \$2.5-billion. But it is justified, and offers a cautionary tale for future governments failing to consult on schemes aimed at “saving money.”

As I retired in 2017, I might be eligible for \$1,000 in damages. That’s about \$5 an hour for my efforts. At least it’s over.

Andrew Caddell is retired from Global Affairs Canada, where he was a senior policy adviser. He previously worked as an adviser to Liberal governments. He is a fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and a principal of QIT Canada. He can be reached at pipson52@hotmail.com.

The Hill Times

Canada needs foreign policy for the 21st century

Canada’s 21st century foreign policy will need to be much more balanced with an increased focus on containing the global threats to sustainable and more equitable growth on the planet as a whole.



Joseph Ingram

Comment

Much has been written about Canada’s failure last month to secure a United Nations Security Council seat, with many pundits—not just the Harperites—suggesting that it wasn’t such a big deal to begin with. This couldn’t be further from the truth.

With Canada’s paltry contribution of 0.27 per cent of gross national income (amongst the lowest of the OECD member states), former prime minister Stephen Harper’s elimination of the Canadian International Development Agency and reduction of the Canadian embassy presence to 14 in Africa’s 55 countries, a feminist foreign policy in most cases made up of standalone projects devoid of targeted links to increased economic growth (the top priority for developing countries), and virtually no more UN-sponsored peace-keeping, it should have come as no surprise that few of Africa’s representatives in the 193-seat UN General Assembly would have found reason to support a Canadian bid—especially when the performance of both Norway and Ireland on all of these fronts is so much better. The failure of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s government to correct any of these regressive policies sent a clear message to Canada’s erstwhile global constituency.

As affirmed recently by an article in *The Economist*, Canadians tend to see themselves in a much more positive light than do others, especially in the developing world where our substantive presence too often deflates the lofty rhetoric of our broader policy pronouncements. The unwillingness of Trudeau’s foreign policy to reset the short-sighted parochialism reflected in the actions of his Conservative predecessors has not only further tarnished our global standing as a middle power, but is also exposing Canadians to the inexorable threats of the 21st century. These threats include the impact of a demographic transition and global warming that will produce a rapidly growing population in the world’s poorest regions, where extreme poverty will spread as a result of increased drought, water scarcity, and global pandemics. These trends will inevitably lead to more inter- and intra-state conflict, heightened pressures on the growing cohort of young people to migrate, and more authoritarian government leadership and human rights violations, with populists like Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil

holding out easy solutions to what are complex challenges of economic and social development.

With an economy heavily dependent on trade and stable export markets seeking more of our products and services, Canada needs a foreign policy that allows it to have real impact on the forces that will increasingly define the health and sustainability of our society in the years to come. While 20th century foreign policy was driven primarily by how governments interacted with great powers and their networks, and the immediate impact of such power relationships, 21st century foreign policy will need to be much more balanced with an increased focus on containing the global threats to sustainable and more equitable growth on the planet as a whole.

Instead of being dominated by the track of traditional diplomacy in pursuit of the best geo-strategic or commercial deal in the short term, Canada’s foreign policy needs to be firmly secured on a dual track with international development experts skilled in helping poor economies put in place the effective economic political and social structures that will allow them to achieve their sustainable development goals.

If Canada’s foreign policy priorities continue to inadequately reflect these emerging 21st century realities, we cannot expect to position ourselves as an effective leader within the international donor community. Not only will we continue to lose the respect of the emerging nations and the ready access that such a position would give us in newly emerging markets, we will also continue to see catastrophic shortfalls, globally, in addressing the existential threats from accelerated warming of the planet, rapid population growth, and its impact on global demand for finite natural resources (especially fresh water, fertile soil, and food) as well as newly emergent pandemics. These trends, if left unchecked, will contribute to a breakdown in the global order and the institutions that have held it in place since the end of the Second World War.

As emphasized time and again in UN policy statements, while until now front-line actors in dealing with interstate threats have been the diplomats and defence experts of individual sovereign states, the emerging 21st century threats can no longer be managed effectively by individual states alone—not even by the super powers. Today, they present a common threat and require a shared response amongst like-minded states appreciative of and committed to enhancing the global good. This, in turn, requires the accumulated knowledge of economists, governance specialists, and international development experts who can ensure that Canada’s 21st century global presence makes truly meaningful contributions to the development of those countries that will have the greatest impact on the inexorable trends that define the future of our planet.

Had our policy instruments reflected more equally this dual-track approach, we would no doubt today be a member of the UN Security Council and in a much stronger position to positively influence both Canada’s future and that of the global commons.

Joseph Ingram is the chairman of *Capitalis Partners*, a former president of the *North South Institute*, and a former *World Bank special representative to the United Nations* and the *World Trade Organization*. He is an expert adviser to the *Global Growth Dialogue* and a fellow of the *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*.

The Hill Times

News

Hybrid summer circuit in the cards as politicians try to strike balance between public health and politics

‘The summer’s often the time to strengthen your fortifications or build up your beachheads and it’s harder to do this year,’ says Tim Powers.

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

For politicians, the summer is normally a time for the so-called barbecue circuit, to bounce from event to event rubbing shoulders with community members and rebuilding support. For the government, it can fan out cabinet ministers to make funding announcements and—in normal times—Conservative leadership hopefuls would be using these months to build public momentum.

The pandemic has shifted politics-as-usual and the summer circuit is no different, but strategists say politicians can strike a balance and still get on the road—virtually, if necessary—to get a scaled-down benefit of those interactions.

“COVID’s made a hybrid of all our lives and it’s equally true of the summer political barbecue circuit,” said Tim Powers, a long-time Conservative, a former party adviser, and vice-chairman of Summa Strategies.

In normal times, the barbecue circuit can be a good time for MPs to connect with constituents to take stock of how the past year went and preview what’s coming up, and how members of the community are feeling about the government, noted Elliot Hughes, a senior adviser at Summa Strategies and former adviser to Liberal finance and defence ministers.

“In a strange way, that would be no more important than now,” he said, and while polls can offer a pretty good idea, “until you get to hear it from people face-to-face, you can’t get a full sense.”

But priority No. 1 for politicians has to be—and be seen to be—public health, Mr. Hughes said.

That’s already got some leaders in trouble and served as a lesson to MPs about how they’ll be perceived should they get too comfortable on whatever version of the summer circuit is possible this year. First, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) came under fire for an Easter trip across the river from Ottawa to Gatineau, Que., in April to visit his family at their home on Harrington Lake, despite urging Canadians not to travel. Then, last week outgoing Conservative Party Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina—Qu’Appelle, Sask.) was forced to answer why he flouted a mandatory face mask policy at Toronto Pearson Airport, though he called the questions “ridiculous.”

That showed that “whatever you’re going to do, you better make damn sure you’re following whatever the public health rules are, otherwise you’re going to get burned,” said Mr. Powers. “Lead by example on public health is the first lesson because if you don’t, whatever political message you’re trying to deliver will fail.”

As provinces ease restrictions, politicians have shifted, too. At times, Mr. Trudeau has departed from his regular perch at the steps of his home at Rideau Cottage, including a couple appearances at food banks in recent weeks and before that, on June 19, announcing aid programs while visiting a café in Chelsea, Que.

Conservative leadership hopeful Peter MacKay is back on the road, making stops in Ontario and Quebec over the last week. And Infrastructure Canada, for example, has been making a number of spending announcements in communities across the country, inviting media to join MPs at the virtual events.

Typically, those announcements would have been an opportunity for Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna (Ottawa Centre, Ont.) to make it to the different regions, noted former Liberal Party adviser Sheamus Murphy, but Zoom meetings are the new normal, including with grassroots party supporters. In a typical year, he said the Calgary Stampede’s start in early July was the kick-off for the barbecue circuit, which is almost non-existent this year. “Politicians at all levels, more than everybody, have to lead by example,” said Mr. Murphy, vice-president of federal advocacy at Counsel Public Affairs.

But with provinces like Ontario allowing larger gatherings and more businesses to open, and the Atlantic provinces forming their own bubble, it’s still possible for politicians to be strategic in their event planning. There are a number of considerations at play during this pandemic, including limiting numbers and opting for outdoor events or large venues where people can remain distant, noted Yaroslav Baran, a Conservative strategist and partner at Earncliffe Strategy Group.

“Masks are going to be very commonplace in everything we see politicians doing on the tour circuit this season, not only as a safety precaution but it’s also going to be a consideration for mitigating criticism,” he said, pointing to Mr. Scheer’s experience with the mask.

“Rightly or wrongly it doesn’t matter—when you have stuff like that out there, it puts you on the defensive, so those kinds of considerations are going to be in the mix for planning anything related to tour or the barbecue circuit.”

Visual content is still king: pollster Greg Lyle

Innovative Research Group pollster Greg Lyle said the public is very conservative about taking risks and less willing to do things that it perceives as “extra,” like going to restaurants or movie theatres, or perhaps in this case, political events.

“One of the big concerns is the behaviour of others,” he said, so people will be cautious in crowds.

These types of meet and greets are just one tool that politicians have lost, and there’s plenty of ways to campaign virtually, which can be cheaper and faster, he noted.

“The truth is that visual content is king, not just for the media, but for social media,” he said, so politicians will still seek clips to spread a positive message similar to those posted in summers past.

In this context, politicians can’t do momentum events, but that’s more of a boost at the end of a campaign, and not so necessary for a minority government in the first year of its mandate, noted Mr. Lyle.

“If you’re at the location at the bridge or the building or the new road ... that’s going to be a good picture, lots of people are going to recognize it, it’s going to get more circulation than if you just make the announcement and send it out by email.”

This moment calls for creative thinking, agreed Mr. Baran, who said political teams will be thinking of ways to swap in substitutions for the traditional big crowds standing behind the politician holding a cheque or making an announcement.

“Find backdrop imagery that speaks to the content of your message. It doesn’t have to be a wall of people behind you. If you’re making an announcement on food security, go to a market in front of a fruit stall. Something that reinforces the message that you’re trying to convey.”

Striking a balance is what’s most important, said Mr. Powers.

“You have to be nimble, you have to be smart, you have to be sensitive that people are so focused on COVID that overt partisanship, either from the government or the opposition, is not going to go over super well,” he said.

That pressure is “most acutely” on the prime minister, since he’s made himself so front and centre in the pandemic response with the once-daily briefings.

“It bore political fruit in the management of the COVID response that he’s got to be careful with his transition back into political party leader and I don’t know if you’ll see that as much as you normally would in past summers,” Mr. Powers said.

Mr. Trudeau attending the protest against anti-Black racism and police brutality in Ottawa on June 5, and kneeling among the



On June 11, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau visited with Régimbal Awards and Promotions owner Luc Régimbal to highlight how businesses are benefiting from the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy and other economic measures. Strategists say politicians are now more comfortable being seen out in public, but they’ll have to strike a balance with public health measures. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

crowd was likely the exception in what Canadians find acceptable, Mr. Lyle said.

As for whether the barbecue circuit served a political purpose in the best of times, both Mr. Trudeau and former Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper offer good examples where the answer is yes, noted Mr. Powers. It’s served as a useful tool to strengthen party relationships and build on strengths and address weaknesses in different parts of the country.

“For Harper, when he was in opposition and early on as prime minister, he would use the summer to shore up and build relationships in parts of the country where work was needed,” Mr. Powers said, also pointing to both his and Mr. Scheer’s work in Quebec, while Mr. Trudeau has used the summer circuit to hit ridings he wouldn’t normally visit.

“The summer’s often the time to strengthen your fortifications or build up your beachheads and it’s harder to do this year,” especially for Conservative leadership hopefuls. “If not for COVID, this would be the summer where a new opposition leader would be introducing themselves to the public.”

Where campaigns could show a packed room to demonstrate momentum, now he’s noted efforts to communicate the same differently, like boasting about 1,000 people logging onto a virtual town hall.

In one stop in Orillia, Ont., on July 8, four MPs fanned behind Peter MacKay at a safe distance with a restaurant in the background as he makes a point about supporting small businesses. Earlier that day, Mr. MacKay visited a farming family to promise he’ll scrap the carbon tax, and this week’s he’s been on the road in Quebec.

On the government side, there’s isn’t much need for that morale boost, since all across Canada it’s in a strong position, said Mr. Lyle. That’s still true even as normal politics starts to return, with those less favourable to the government less likely to give as strong support as they did in March and April.

“What they really need right now is to be seen to be planning for the next wave, that’s the absolute No. 1 priority. If they get into the fall and people die in long-term care facilities at the level they’re dying right now, that’s going to be a very unpopular government, I don’t care what they did this summer.”

The reality is that we’re in a time where politics matters, he said.

“We’re in a time where government truly matters and government failures have severe political consequences. The first wave took everyone by surprise, and I think the government got a break. They will not get a break the second time.”

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Trudeau's penchant for political appointees shows lack of appreciation for ambassadors' work: former senior diplomat

'[Trudeau] neglects the fact that you need experience and competent people,' says Guy Saint-Jacques, a former Canadian ambassador to China from 2012 to 2016.

Continued from page 1

most high-profile diplomatic posts, a former senior ambassador says the prime minister fails to understand the importance of career diplomats.

Bob Rae's appointment as the next Canadian ambassador to the UN is the latest in a series of political appointees taking the most prolific diplomatic posts in the Canadian foreign service. That list includes the appointment of Mr. Rae's predecessor Marc-André Blanchard, Dominic Barton and former immigration minister John McCallum as ambassadors to China, former privy council clerk Janice Charette as high commissioner to the United Kingdom, Isabelle Hudon as ambassador to France, former foreign affairs minister Stéphane Dion as ambassador to Germany and envoy to the EU, and David MacNaughton as former ambassador to the U.S.

Former ambassador to China Guy Saint-Jacques, who, during his time in the foreign service, was responsible for leading the heads of mission nomination process, said the successive selections of political appointees shows that Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) doesn't understand foreign affairs and he doesn't understand the importance of diplomacy.

"Diplomacy is not show business," he said, adding that Mr. Trudeau has had an approach to appoint people who are well known. "He neglects the fact that you need experience and competent people."

Mr. Saint-Jacques said the selection of political appointees sends a "bad message" to career diplomats, as few of the most high-profile posts can be filled by foreign service officers.

He added there are aspects of diplomacy that political appointees have not been able to do, especially those with less understanding of global governance and the geopolitical reality on the ground. He also said political appointees are unaware of the demands associated with diplomatic posts.

"Political appointees won't be able to carry these kinds of

discussions," Mr. Saint-Jacques said. "The value of an ambassador is your capacity to network and to be a good networker you have to be knowledgeable."

He said that when picking the replacement for Mr. McCallum, he urged the government to pick a career diplomat for the Beijing post. Mr. McCallum resigned after comments he made that were out of step with the messaging of the Canadian government on the extradition hearing of Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou.

Although Mr. Rae has lots of good qualities, Mr. Saint-Jacques said he isn't trained as a diplomat.

A spokesperson for Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champlain, Que.) said Mr. Rae has "dedicated his life to serving Canadians and has done crucial work as Canada's special envoy to Myanmar and Canada's special envoy on humanitarian and refugee issues."

a tradition in Canadian diplomacy going back to former prime minister Brian Mulroney. Past prime minister Stephen Harper raised eyebrows for appointing Toronto lawyer Vivian Bercovici as ambassador to Israel, Bruno Saccomani—who previously was the head of his RCMP security detail—as envoy to Jordan, former House of Commons Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers as ambassador to Ireland, and defeated former foreign affairs minister Lawrence Cannon as envoy to France.

Mr. Trudeau selected Kirsten Hillman, a career diplomat, as Canada's ambassador to the U.S. She is the first career diplomat in the post since Michael Kergin held the role from 2000 to 2005.

Former diplomat Gilles Rivard, president of the Retired Heads of Mission Association, said when a political appointee gets a top job, there is always a question if

Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) president Pamela Isfeld said there is a recognition that there are political appointees that bring a distinct set of skills to some appointments like the ambassador to the U.S. and the UN, noting there is a close co-operation with the foreign service.

Ms. Isfeld said the concern is when political appointees are selected to lead much smaller missions.

"The person then starts to have less of a support staff to help them," she said, adding that in general the existing professional foreign service should be the "first port of call" when looking to fill diplomatic posts.

The appointment of Mr. Rae, Ms. Isfeld said, carries on the acceptable tradition of political appointees and has a lot of support within PAFSO.

Former diplomat Colin Robertson, a past PAFSO president, said there are cases where a political

"He has more than 20 years of work in international affairs on issues ranging from terrorism, federalism, and human rights—but importantly, he led this work as an independent actor, coming up with his own judgements on the application of Canada's interests. That makes his perspective even more valuable than someone who has been in the system for decades."

He added that the foreign service needs a change to reward "innovation and new thinking."

Conservative MP Stephanie Kusie (Calgary Midnapore, Alta.), who served as Canada's chargée d'affaires in El Salvador and was a policy adviser to then-minister of state for Foreign Affairs for the Americas Peter Kent (Thornhill, Ont.), said there are "pros and cons" for both the selection of political appointees and career diplomats.

"You can get good people out of both systems, and you can get bad people out of both systems," she said.

She said while political appointees don't always know the practices of the foreign service, they do know government policies in depth and know the prime minister and foreign affairs minister.

In her time in the foreign service, Ms. Kusie said she saw the same high-level people being recycled over again for various heads of missions.

"It's frustrating and demoralizing for lower people that want the opportunity to serve at a higher capacity," she said, adding that another issue is the tight rules that diplomats are restricted to in creating policy and speaking to the media.

"The golden ticket isn't always foreign service officers, because in a way it is its own political party, promoting the same people," Ms. Kusie said. "It's good to have a healthy mixture of both as long as they are intelligent, [have] good judgement, and are courageous to implement the political ideology, but tactful in doing that."

Independent Senator Peter Boehm (Ontario), a former career diplomat who served as ambassador to Germany and was Mr. Trudeau's G7 sherpa, said the selection of political appointees is cyclical.

"If you want to have a head of mission who is plugged in to the centre to the PMO and the PCO, you'll go with a political appointee if it makes sense to do so," he said.

He said the Canadian system is nothing compared to the one the U.S. has, where a large number of its ambassadors around the world are large political donors.

Sen. Boehm said Mr. Rae is "cut out" for multilateral work, adding that some on the political side have that capability, comparing him to past UN ambassador and former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis.

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Bob Rae is the second straight political appointee to hold the role of Canada's ambassador to the UN. He will start his post on Aug. 4. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Syrine Khoury said Mr. Rae will "continue to strengthen Canada's presence at the UN and on the world stage," adding that the selection of ambassadors is based on their "vast and varied experience," and the political appointees are "highly qualified individuals who bring a unique set of skills and knowledge in line with our foreign policy objectives."

A Liberal source told *The Hill Times* on background that it's important political appointees have a wide-range of experience and skills beyond being diplomats, citing Mr. Blanchard's work in the private sector being helpful at the UN on developmental funding.

The source said it is important to have vast experience, including backgrounds in politics and business, in order to send countries around the world a message that diplomacy is important to Canada.

The use of political appointees for diplomatic posts has been

a career diplomat would be better suited to handle the post.

But in the case of Mr. Rae, he said, he already has some experience on the world stage in his special envoy roles. Mr. Rae was a former NDP premier of Ontario and the interim federal Liberal leader from 2011 to 2013.

Mr. Rivard, a former deputy permanent representative to the UN and ambassador to Haiti, said the danger of selecting political appointees is seen in the case of Mr. McCallum.

He said more and more political appointees will be discouraging for those in the foreign service who want to hold those positions.

"It's obvious that it affects the morale of people," he said.

The head of the union representing foreign service officers said there is a recognition that it is the government's prerogative to appoint the people it wants.

appointee makes the most sense, adding that in Washington, D.C., having a political appointee in the role gave Canada greater access.

Although Mr. Harper appointed career diplomats to the UN post, Mr. Robertson said the appointments of Mr. Blanchard and Mr. Rae shows the added emphasis that Mr. Trudeau places on the UN, adding that sending his Mr. Rae to New York City shows that Canada is still "quite serious" about the UN despite the unsuccessful Security Council election.

Canadian International Council president Ben Rowswell, a former Canadian ambassador to Venezuela, said in email that the disadvantage in appointing career diplomats is that the foreign service generates "uniformity in thinking."

"The best ambassadors are independent thinkers who can speak directly to a prime minister and influence his decisions," he said, adding that is why Mr. Rae is the "best person" for the UN job.

News

A look at rookie MP Sloan's underdog leadership campaign

Team Sloan is led by former Scheer staffer Paula Iturri, and includes Ashley Brown as tour director and Daniel Paolini, who's currently a member of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party executive.

Eric Lowther, who represented Calgary Centre, Alta., from 1997 to 2000; former Saskatchewan Conservative MP Brad Trost (a social conservative who has also endorsed Ms. Lewis); and Richard Décarie, a former deputy chief of staff to Stephen Harper as opposition leader whose own attempt to run for leadership was rejected by the party. Mr. Décarie has encouraged his would-be supporters to instead rank Mr. Sloan No. 1 on their ballots

Mr. Sloan has also notably been endorsed by two socially conservative advocacy groups—the Campaign for Life Coalition and REAL Women of Canada—and Rebel Media founder Ezra Levant.

Mr. Trost said while she's worked on previous campaigns, it's his understanding that this is the first campaign Ms. Iturri is overseeing. "Paula's fairly new, but has tons of energy," he said.

Daniel Paolini is also working on Mr. Sloan's campaign—though his exact role is unclear, his name has been offered up to media trying to contact the campaign. He's currently on the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party's executive as regional vice-president for southwest Ontario. (Also currently on the executive is Mélanie Paradis, deputy campaign manager to Conservative leadership candidate Erin O'Toole, as second vice-president).

two campaigns I figure they're a better fit with."

"After 15 years being a Member of Parliament, I have a bit of a Rolodex on certain sides, so when they need phone calls and stuff I can [help out]," said Mr. Trost, who served five terms as a Saskatchewan MP before losing a riding nomination challenge in 2019. "Derek's a rookie MP and they really haven't had caucus meetings very often because of COVID."

"I'm not crafting messages for either campaign, but again, when people need to talk to people, they phone me and they'll say, 'look, do you know anyone in [X]' and I'll see if I can round them up, or, 'do you know a social conser-

whose past political roles include serving as chief of staff to then-infrastructure minister Denis Lebel and as a special adviser to Mr. Scheer, said based on social media and conversations with other party members, he thinks as many as 75 per cent of Mr. Sloan's first-ballot supporters could decide not to support either of the race frontrunners, Mr. O'Toole and Mr. MacKay.

"The real question political junkies should ask themselves, or follow, is what will happen with those voters afterwards. Will they just decide to support Lewis but then support nobody? Or will they massively go to O'Toole? Because Erin will need it to win," he said.

If a majority of Mr. Sloan's and Ms. Lewis' supporters opt not to rank anybody else, "then it's just very helpful for Peter MacKay, because then suddenly his first ballot becomes more powerful," said Mr. Plante, who said he's currently still undecided on who to back. While Mr. O'Toole has styled himself as a "true blue" Conservative, Mr. MacKay is seen as a Red Tory.

Mr. Sloan's performance during the French leaders' debate got him some positive attention, with observers lauding his better-than-expected ability to speak Canada's other official language.

Despite this, Mr. Plante said he doesn't expect Mr. Sloan to advance beyond the first ballot—assuming there even is more than one in this year's four-person race—and anticipates Ms. Lewis will fare better of the two, given her appeal to a broader swathe of the base.

"He may have pleasantly surprised a few members, but I think it's still marginal. I think he will end up seven, eight per cent on the first ballot, but that's going to be it," said Mr. Plante.

Conservative Party member Yaroslav Baran, a partner at Earncliffe Strategy Group and a former federal staffer who said he's supporting Mr. MacKay in the race, said Mr. Sloan's campaign is the only one he hasn't received any campaign literature or outreach efforts from—which, for him, suggests less organizational capacity. Mr. Baran said he expects the rookie MP will ultimately place "a distant fourth."

"General reaction among many within the party that I've talked to, is, 'wow, Leslyn Lewis is pretty impressive, she's articulate, she takes a reasoned, moderate, not ideological approach to social conservatism' ... whereas in contrast he [Mr. Sloan] comes off as just 100 per cent retrograde and with an angry edge and a divisiveness in his messaging—all the kind of nasty sides of social conservatism, where she seems to be embodying all the best of it," he said.

A Mainstreet Research poll of 7,958 Conservative Party members, published May 22 and conducted through automated phone interviews on May 20 and 21, found that, when asked who they would support if the leadership vote were held that day, just 6.4 per cent of respondents said they would vote for Mr. Sloan. Mr. MacKay led the pack at 38.6 per cent, followed by Mr. O'Toole with 31.2 per cent, and Ms. Lewis with 9.9 per cent. Another 13.9 per cent of respondents said they were undecided. The poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 1.1 per cent.

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four-person field and coming fourth in fundraising based on numbers reported so far.

To Conservative Party member and former federal staffer Yan Plante, the key strategic question when it comes to Mr. Sloan's campaign is where his supporters will throw their weight after the first ballot—from which he expects Mr. Sloan will be dropped—and whether they'll even rank other choices, pointing to the Campaign Life Coalition's directive to supporters to not rank any but the two candidates it's endorsed.

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, voting to decide the next leader of the Conservative Party will take place entirely by a ranked, mail-in ballot this year. Ballots are already being mailed to party members and are due back by Aug. 21, with the winner to be announced on an as-yet-undetermined date.

Mr. Sloan officially threw his hat into the 2020 leadership ring in late January, and today is seen as one of two underdogs in the race—alongside Toronto lawyer Leslyn Lewis—with former minister Peter MacKay and Conservative MP Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) widely cast as the frontrunners.

Mr. Sloan defeated former Liberal MP Mike Bossio in the 2019 election in Hastings-Lennox and Addington, Ont., by a margin of 4.3 percentage points—41.4 per cent of the vote to Mr. Bossio's 37.1 per cent. Before 2015, the riding had been represented by Conservative Daryl Kramp, who's now an Ontario MPP.

Before taking his seat in the House, Mr. Sloan had spent more than a year putting his Queen's University law degree to work, practicing family and civil litigation in Belleville, Ont. Prior to starting law school in 2014, Mr. Sloan was owner and operator of Sloan's Furniture and Appliance Liquidation in Oshawa, Ont.

The Sloan campaign's list of endorsers is thin compared to his competitors. Among those with political experience, he's backed by former Reform MP



Rookie Conservative MP Derek Sloan is one of four contenders in the 2020 Conservative Party leadership race. Party members are pictured awaiting results of the last race in Toronto in May 2017. Photograph courtesy of Derek Sloan's Facebook and file photograph

A social conservative with a perceived populist bent, Mr. Sloan has, among other things, pledged to reduce annual immigration targets (from 350,000 to 150,000) and increase private sponsorship of refugees, end the carbon tax, repeal Bill C-69, end funding for the World Health Organization, raise the national age for recreational marijuana to 25, bring defence funding up to two per cent of Canada's GDP within five years, and rescind a party policy (Policy 70) that declares a Conservative government will not support legislation to regulate abortions. Also notably, he gained attention early in the race when he said he thinks the "cause of sexual orientation" is "scientifically unclear" and that he would not ban conversion therapy.

After multiple attempts to connect over multiple weeks, the campaign declined *The Hill Times'* interview request on July 9.

Paula Iturri is serving as Mr. Sloan's campaign manager. Ms. Iturri is a former Hill assistant to outgoing Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer in his capacity as the MP for Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask. In 2017, shortly after he took over the party's helm, she left Mr. Scheer's MP office to become a community relations manager in his then-new office as leader, ultimately spending roughly a year in all in the OLO.

Mr. Paolini has spent the last two years as a legislative assistant to Ontario PC MPP Rick Nicholls, who represents Chatham-Kent-Leamington, Ont., before which he was a communications specialist with Compassionate Community Care in London, Ont.

Ashley Brown, in an email response to *The Hill Times*, identified herself as tour director for Mr. Sloan's campaign.

Mr. Trost was seen to have surprised many when he made it to the 11th ballot, ultimately placing fourth in the 2017 Conservative leadership race, just behind Mr. O'Toole, thanks to the support of social conservatives, many of whom went on to propel Mr. Scheer to victory.

Reached by *The Hill Times* last week, Mr. Trost confirmed he's been fielding calls and offering advice to both Mr. Sloan's and Ms. Lewis' campaigns as an "informal" volunteer, and said he's put his name on a "couple of fundraising pieces" put out by Team Sloan. Mr. Trost said his efforts have tapered off since early May, though he continues to make and take calls to offer advice or connect organizers.

Asked whether his efforts were equal for both camps, Mr. Trost said it was "hard to say," explaining "basically I network with people that I know and try to send them to whichever of the

ervative who could [do Y]' or things like that ... They'll also ask what sort of gossip I hear and so forth for information purposes."

Over the first quarter of 2020, covering Jan. 1 to March 31, Team Sloan raised a total of \$410,263 from 2,981 donations—putting him last in the pack and roughly \$38,000 behind his closest competitor, Ms. Lewis. According to the CBC's Eric Grénier, when adjusted for those who donated more than once, Mr. Sloan's tally works out to 2,477 individual donors.

The CLC, a national anti-abortion group, has endorsed both Mr. Sloan and Ms. Lewis for leader, giving them grades of A-plus and A, respectively, "based on the number and quality of socially conservative policies put forth by each candidate, as well as how outspoken each of them has been on life& family issues," as explained on its website.

"The remaining candidates are disqualified from consideration owing to their support for abortion, which is a disqualifying factor for pro-life voters. Please do not rank their names on the ballot," reads the CLC's voter's guide. "By strategically withholding support from politicians who promote and affirm abortion ... we will be cultivating more courageous leaders in the future."

Mr. Plante, who's now a senior director with the public affairs firm TACT in Montreal and

Wernick's warning of political violence reflects increasing polarization, say politicians, experts

There's been a normalization of hateful language online, says terrorism expert Jessica Davis, who noted a 'Trudeau effect' in the extreme animosity voiced by some online.

Continued from page 1

firm MNP, which did not respond to a request for comment.

Terrorism expert Jessica Davis said she's watched the normalization of hateful language online, and remains very concerned about extreme-right threats. The "stark" words from Mr. Wernick are relevant when considering the recent events at Rideau Hall, she said, as part of that theme.

Though there are many factors at play, it's difficult to downplay what Ms. Davis called the Trudeau effect.

"He really does seem to inspire a particular level of animosity, mostly in the West but also in other parts of the country as well," she said of the hateful rhetoric aimed at Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.), including death threats. "It's really quite extreme."

Those threats are not exclusively online, and that's when it gets worrying, said Ms. Davis, a former analyst at the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and current president and principal consultant at Insight Threat Intelligence.

Corey Hurren, a Canadian Armed Forces reservist, is facing 22 charges and stands accused of ramming his truck on July 2 through the gate to Rideau Hall. Mr. Trudeau and his family live on the grounds of the governor general's residence, at Rideau Cottage. He's alleged to have been armed with a prohibited firearm along with three other weapons, and while most of the charges are weapons-related, he's also charged with uttering a threat against Mr. Trudeau. A letter from the gunman lists grievances related to his business, expected repossession of his truck, and the impact of the COVID-19 lockdown, according to Global News. This and other reports document Mr. Hurren's history of being drawn to conspiracy theories.

The day before the Rideau Hall incident, hundreds attended a far-right rally on Parliament Hill, including People's Party

Leader Maxime Bernier, where at least one demonstrator held a sign showing the prime minister standing in a gallows, according to *Foreign Policy*.

On July 13, a Quebec man, André Audet, was charged by the RCMP's national security team for making threats against Muslims, and for calling for the death of Mr. Trudeau. Global TV and HuffPost Canada reported Mr. Trudeau wore a bulletproof vest at a campaign rally before the election because RCMP received what police sources said was a credible threat that a man was outside the event with a gun.

As for whether Mr. Hurren's alleged actions are a symptom of a larger problem in Canadian politics, extremist researcher Amarnath Amarasingam said he doesn't think so. Mr. Hurren appeared aggrieved about recent developments related to the COVID-19 lockdown in Canada, and the financial and psychological consequences, he said.

"We don't know enough about his worldview to suggest that he was embedded in online spaces that would have spurred him along to violence," said Prof. Amarasingam, an assistant professor at Queen's University, adding it's not yet clear whether he was swimming in far-right content online.

While the media have reported Mr. Hurren was reading and posting about conspiracy theories, including QAnon content, Prof. Amarasingam said that's not the same as far-right content.

"I think a lot of the polarizing language that Wernick warned about was coming from more far-right circles, and circles that Canadian supporters of the far-right were accessing at a transnational level, as well. For now, we don't know enough about Hurren's ideological worldview," said Prof. Amarasingam, adding that though elements of the anti-Trudeau sentiment are clearly violent, he doesn't see it as "altogether outside regular democratic discourse."

It's important that Canada's law enforcement and security

services be explicit with how problematic they find this activity and be forthcoming about how they have responded, even if it falls short of criminal charges, added Ms. Davis.

That's happening to some degree, with Public Safety Canada's 2018 Public Report on the Terrorism Threat to Canada, highlighting a concern about threats posed by those who harbour right-wing extremist views, but she said the normalization of hateful language online has occurred in part because people have not suffered consequences.

"They've not been de-platformed, they've not faced criminal charges. It's really normalized in the online space and makes



the last five or six years," Mr. Murphy said about what becomes a social media echo chamber, though others trace the origins further back.

Towards the end of his 10-year tenure, former Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper was increasingly the focal point of Conservative detractors. And during his time in office, Mr. Harper also faced his share of disturbing attacks, noted Tim Powers, a former adviser to Conservative leaders and cabinet ministers.

"The longer leaders are in office and they have a history of making decisions and things happen under their watch, that intense vitriol is more easily expressed," observed Mr. Powers, recalling both death and bomb threats targeting Mr. Harper, as well as convicted killer Luka Rocco Magnotta sending a human foot to Conservative Party headquarters in 2012. Another severed body part was intercepted en route to the Liberal Party offices.

"The disdain game has reached another level and it's getting dangerous."

There have been "alarming" developments over the last decade, agreed pollster Frank Graves, which he outlined in a recent paper published by the University of

Calgary, studying northern populism and its consequences. His research demonstrated that the country has become dramatically more polarized and "to a dangerous extent." For example, in 2013 there were only about 10 points separating Liberals and Conservatives supporters saying they believed there were too

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was allegedly the subject of threats by Corey Hurren, who is facing 22 charges for breaking through the gates of Rideau Hall while armed.

The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

many visible minorities coming to Canada as immigrants. By the 2019 election, the response had widened to a 55-point difference, noted Mr. Graves, president of Ekos Research Associates.

"So a very intense polarization into this new, ordered, authoritarian camp which very much this guy [Mr. Hurren] who showed up in Ottawa was reflective of," said Mr. Graves, who called it "curious" that Mr. Wernick brought up his concerns during a critical session examining political interference, and that "he was definitely onto something."

Mr. Wernick's warnings around attacks on public institutions don't hold the same weight for Innovative Research Group president Greg Lyle, who noted Canada's seen a rise in deference to the government in the wake of COVID-19.

"The nature of media and the global patterns of media and the fact that one in a thousand people can meet together online and find community that they could not find in the past creates new challenges," he said, but Canada won't

see far-right parties and populism rise in the same way it's appeared in places like Austria, or Hungary.

Liberals, Tories equally to blame for polarization: Baran

To Mr. Murphy, some worrying rhetoric has emerged in the CPC leadership campaign. He pointed to Erin O'Toole's (Durham, Ont.) video message on the eve of Canada Day, in which the leadership hopeful stood in front of Parliament Hill with the Peace Tower in the background and spoke about "cancel culture" and the "radical left" trying to cancel the flag ahead of Canada Day, a sentiment he tied to Mr. Trudeau and historical revisionism.

"I'm very concerned it bleeds over into the support for a lot of the mainstream political parties and I think the attitude should be 'we don't want support from people who hold those views, it's not worth it,'" but he said right now it doesn't seem explicit.

It bothered Mr. Murphy, too, that it took most opposition leaders almost a week after the incident at Rideau Hall to condemn what occurred.

Conservative strategist Yaroslav Baran said over the last decade, he's watched a deterioration in the political messaging towards a less constructive, more polarizing, and more vitriolic and intolerant tone.

"I think the two biggest culprits are equally the Liberals and Conservatives," he said, pointing to some CPC messaging that calls for the party to "take back Canada," which includes a "fear and critical urgency that I think could have unintended consequences." On the Liberal side, Mr. Trudeau's conciliatory tone on election night has long ended and been replaced with an "us against them" rhetoric when discussing the Conservative Party that Mr. Baran said is "hugely irresponsible and dangerous for a political leader to engage in."

The tenor of partisanship seems to be angrier now in what he described as a toxic phenomenon.

"If left unchecked, it could have a socially disintegrating effect and propel us in the direction of what we see south of the border."

The intense politicization in the United States also feeds into this conversation as well, said Ms. Davis. And while Canada has a very different political context, a lot of our extremists share ideas across that border.

"That cross pollination of ideas happens regardless of whether it makes any sense," Ms. Davis explained.

But changing the political discourse may not make a difference, noted Prof. Amarasingam given where these discussions are taking place, with some parts of the population living in another reality.

"I think politicians should try their best to be civil and show the Canadian public that they are working together, but I'm worried that the online space in which some people live these days is engaging in discourse that is very much outside the norm, and it's a discourse that most politicians wouldn't even have access to because they are in fairly specialized platforms."

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More nuanced, test-focused approach needed to reopen Canada-U.S. border, say experts

A bipartisan group of U.S. lawmakers has called for Canada and the United States to ‘immediately craft a comprehensive framework for phased reopening of the border.’

Continued from page 1

having been extended every month since. Recent media reports—citing unnamed sources—indicate that the Canadian and U.S. governments have agreed to extend the closure of the border for another 30 days when the current restrictions expire on July 21. CTV reported that the two governments are “on the same page” in their decision to extend the border restrictions.

Trade consultant Eric Miller, who worked on the Beyond the Border Action Plan, which sought to make Canada-U.S. border crossings more efficient, said in order to move towards a phased border reopening there needs to be greater investment in faster testing which could be used at the border.

“The issue is not having Americans come to Canada,” said Mr. Miller. “The issue is having Americans, who might have COVID, come to Canada. So if you can determine who has COVID and who doesn’t have COVID, then you’re in a situation where it is possible to move to a reopening of the border.”

He added that progress is incumbent on Canada finding a way to reassure its domestic population over public safety concerns, as the U.S. is still relying on the “doctrine of hope” that the virus will just go away.

Mr. Miller said there needs to be a “credible strategy” in working towards a reopening; one that makes it clear to Canadians that those allowed to cross the border won’t be carrying the virus with them.

He said the solution lies with something that neither country has yet achieved during the pandemic: fast testing, leading to fast results.

Both countries currently lack a test that could be used quickly at the border to ensure those crossing are virus free, echoed Christopher Sands, director of the Canada Institute at the Wilson Center in Washington, D.C.

Until there is a better understanding of how the government can safely reopen the border, there won’t be a lot of pressure on either country to move towards



U.S. President Donald Trump, pictured at a COVID-19 task force press briefing on April 16, 2020, has long been a proponent for border restrictions. Photograph courtesy of White House/Flickr

reopening, Mr. Sands said, as most of the economic concerns have been resolved by allowing commerce across the border, with the exception of daily cross-border shopping and tourism.

“Until we know what we want, we can’t demand it,” he said, adding he thinks a reopening is unlikely until 2021.

But Mr. Sands said a plan should be discussed on how to realize a phased, gradual reduction of border restrictions, which could include setting certain markers, like how far cases need to drop before non-essential travellers are allowed to cross the border.

Reports of an extension of border restrictions come after a bipartisan group of 29 members of the U.S. Congress wrote a letter to Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.) and acting Homeland Security Secretary Chad Wolf to “immediately craft a comprehensive framework for phased reopening of the border based on objective metrics and accounting for the varied circumstances across border regions.”

The Northern Border Caucus said in the letter that the current process of continuing to implement 30-day extensions of the border restrictions is “untenable” for communities where people have been separated from family and unable to access their

property on the other side of the border. The group has called for “consideration of any interim measures” to loosen restrictions on family members and property owners.

Northern Border Caucus co-chairs Democrat Brian Higgins and Republican Elise Stefanik of New York’s 26th and 21st districts, respectively, did not respond to a request for comment.

Roy Norton, a former official in Canada’s U.S. embassy who was responsible for overseeing the relationship with Congress, said the letter largely reflects a constituent-level issue.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau says the COVID-19 pandemic remains ‘complex’ in the United States. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

But Mr. Norton, now diplomat-in-residence at the Balsillie School of International Affairs, said it’s unlikely to rise to become an issue for the Trump administration as it wants to be seen as being tough on immigration and border crossing, especially given the approaching Nov. 3 election.

He said the bipartisan Congressional group “quite reasonably” wants to plan for the next steps.

Mr. Norton said the initial online response against the Northern Border Caucus’ letter was uninformed and ideologically based. He added there will be a need for all levels of government in Canada to educate and impress upon Canadians that there is nuance in discussions about a phased reopening of the border, plans for which could come with negligible risk.

“We should be willing to look at those to see if they exist,” he said.

The call for a path forward to reopen the Canada-U.S. border was met with scorn north of the border on social media with

Canadians wanting to distance themselves from the spiking U.S. COVID-19 numbers. A recent poll, conducted from June 26 to 30, by Abacus Data suggests that 89 per cent of Canadians want to see the border closed longer.

Mr. Sands said he doesn’t expect there

will be much initiative taken by Canada until public opinion changes.

“The appetite or tolerance for risk in Canada versus the United States has always been different. The Canadian population [is] being a bit more cautious.”

Canadian American Business Council president Maryscott Greenwood said there needs to be an adoption of a more versatile approach to the border and not a

universal approach to the 8,891 kilometre dividing line.

“It’s not just a big, monolithic ‘keep the border entirely closed’ or ‘keep the border entirely open’—it’s got to be more nuanced than that,” she said.

She said that approach should take into consideration the public safety of the two nations, but also developments like testing and tracking the virus.

Ms. Greenwood said the letter is an indication that the border can’t just have an indefinite closure.

A spokesperson for Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* in an email that decisions on the border will be “made by Canadians, for Canadians.”

“Since the beginning of this global pandemic, we have been having friendly ongoing conversations with our American partners about our shared border. Both sides agree that the current measures in place, which are set to expire on July 21, have worked well in restricting non-essential travel while allowing essential crossings to continue unimpeded,” press secretary Katherine Cupleinkas said.

Mr. Sands said he expects the Trump administration won’t be overly forceful in pushing Canada for a reopening because trade is continuing and the closure plays into its wider border-restriction agenda.

The upcoming U.S. election adds another wrinkle, he said, with there being “serious doubt” over whether U.S. President Donald Trump’s pick to be the next ambassador to Canada, Aldona Wos—who could help co-ordinate a reopening—will be confirmed by the Senate.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said on July 13 that the COVID-19 pandemic remains “complex” in the U.S. Last week, the U.S. set a new record for a single-day spike of more than 68,000 cases—the seventh such record spike in 11 days.

Conservative MP Pierre Paul-Hus (Charlesbourg-Haute-Saint-Charles, Que.), his party’s public safety critic, said in an email that Mr. Trudeau needs to tell Canadians what benchmarks will be used to lift border restrictions.

“We believe that any future action on reopening the border to non-essential travellers between Canada and the United States must have public safety as a priority. We also believe that Justin Trudeau and his government failed to provide leadership on this file and that a ‘path forward’ should have been created months ago to help Canadians, Canadian industry, including SME’s [small- and medium-sized enterprises], weather the COVID-19 storm along with adapting to and preparing for the new realities this crisis brings,” he said.

NDP MP Don Davies (Vancouver Kingsway, B.C.), his party’s health critic, said in a statement that the Canadian federal government “need[s] to be clear” with the Trump administration that the “number one priority must be the health and safety of Canadians.”

“Reopening the border prematurely will jeopardize all that we have gained to date,” he said.

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HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

Hage-Moussa returns to PMO as deputy comms director after Deagle exits



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured during a media availability in the West Block on July 8 ahead of the government's release of its economic and fiscal snapshot. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

On the flip side, former PMO staffer John Power has returned the Hill to join Innovation, Science, and Industry Minister Navdeep Bains' team.

Jordan Deagle, one of two deputy directors of communications in the Prime Minister's Office, recently marked his last day on Parliament Hill, and this week, **Vanessa Hage-Moussa** officially replaced him, returning to her old stomping grounds in the process.

In a tweet July 3, Mr. Deagle announced it was his last day working in the PMO.

"I feel deeply fortunate to have worked with so many remarkable people who strive to make Canada an even better place to live," he wrote in the tweet. "It's been a powerful, humbling experience and I'll be forever grateful to [Prime Minister Justin Trudeau] for putting his faith in me."

Staffers, media, MPs, and ministers alike responded to Mr. Deagle's tweet with

well wishes, including PMO senior adviser **Sarah Goodman**, who wrote that "Canada is better for his time in the PMO. He delivered on big files like LNG Canada, carbon pricing, and much more."

Mr. Deagle had been working in the PMO since the start of the Trudeau Liberal government, starting out in November 2015 as a writer. Over the years he moved up the proverbial Hill ladder in the PM's office, first becoming a communications planner, then senior manager of communications planning, and finally deputy director of communications after the election last fall.

He's also a former intern on the Hill, having been placed in the office of then-Liberal MP **Scott Brison** through the Jaimie Anderson Parliamentary Internship program in 2014. His brother, **Kevin Deagle**, is currently a senior policy adviser to Natural Resources Minister **Seamus O'Regan**.

Now off the Hill, Mr. Deagle has joined the private sector and is a public relations manager doing corporate communications for Amazon, according to his LinkedIn profile.

At the beginning of April, Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** announced an agreement with Amazon Canada to manage the



Jordan Deagle, left, pictured on a flight speaking with PMO senior adviser Sarah Goodman, right, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. *Photograph courtesy of Jordan Deagle's Twitter*

distribution of medical and personal protective equipment like masks, face shields, gowns, ventilators and test kits needed as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.



Vanessa Hage-Moussa is back in the PMO as deputy director of communications. *Photograph courtesy of Vanessa Hage-Moussa's Twitter*

In light of Mr. Deagle's exit, Ms. Hage-Moussa returned to the PMO this week to take up the torch as a deputy director of communications in the top office.

After spending the 2015 election as an assistant to the Liberal campaign's press secretaries, Ms. Hage-Moussa landed a job as a press secretary in the PMO, starting in January 2016, and later shifted duties to become a media advance. She exited the office after roughly four years last January to become director of communications to Innovation, Science, and Industry Minister **Navdeep Bains**. During the 2019 election, Ms. Hage-Moussa had been the national Liberal campaign's advance team lead.

Ms. Hage-Moussa has bachelor's degree in political science and history from Concordia University, where she later earned a graduate diploma in communications studies, and has a master's degree in international relations from the University of Aberdeen in Scotland. She's also a former legislative assistant to Quebec Liberal MP **Francis Scarpaleggia** and a former communications, marketing, and brand intern with the CBC in Montreal, amongst other past experience.

In the PMO, Ms. Hage-Moussa joins fellow deputy director of communications **Chantal Gagnon**. Together, they support director of communications **Cameron Ahmad**.

Also currently part of the PMO's now 19-member communications unit are: **Johanna Robinson**, senior manager of digital and creative communications; press secretaries **Alex Wellstead** and **Ann-Clara Vailancourt**; communications planners **Emily Trogen** and **Andrew MacKendrick**; **Riley Lange**, digital and creative content co-ordinator; **Gabrielle Cesvet**, senior speechwriter; speechwriters **Dexter Nyuurnibe** and **Astrid Krizus**; writers **Valérie Glazer** and **Parker Lund**; communications assistant **Catherine Robitaille**; executive assistant **Shehzad Sewani**; videographer **Mathieu**



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains, pictured heading into the House of Commons in the West Block on June 16. Behind him is parliamentary affairs and issues management adviser Alexander Jagric, who filled in as acting press secretary after Ms. Simard's exit. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Sly; and photographers **Adam Scotti** and **Alex Tétreault**.

Katie Telford remains chief of staff to the PM.

Over in Mr. Bains' office, director of parliamentary affairs and issues management **Michael Power** has added a third hat, at least temporarily, and is currently acting as director of communications to the minister.

Back in mid-May, Mr. Bains bade farewell to his senior adviser for communications and media relations—his de facto press secretary by another name—since the 2019 election, **Véronique Simard**. Ms. Simard, who also previously was press secretary to then-employment minister **Patty Hajdu**, is now working in the private sector as head of corporate communications for Nestlé Nespresso in Montreal.

But one new communications hand has already joined the minister's office, with **John Power** recently taking over the role of senior adviser for communications and media relations to Mr. Bains.

John Power worked on the Hill for the Liberal government throughout the last Parliament, the last year of which he spent as an issues management adviser in the PMO. He exited in December 2019 and became a principal with Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs later that month.



John Power, pictured with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

A French media monitor for the Liberals during the 2015 campaign, John Power subsequently landed a job as a committee analyst in then-chief government whip **Andrew Leslie**'s office. A year and a half later, he moved over to National Revenue Minister **Diane Lebouthillier**'s office, first as a special assistant for Ontario, then as press secretary and issues manager to the minister, and ending as a senior communications adviser and issues manager—a role he went on to fill in then-intergovernmental affairs minister **Dominic LeBlanc**'s office for six months before joining the PMO.

Hill Climbers understands that Michael Power and John Power are distantly related.

Also tackling communications for Mr. Bains are communications advisers **Mollie Anderson** and **Shauna Roddey**.

Led by chief of staff **Ryan Dunn**, Mr. Bains' office also currently includes: **Sarah Hussaini**, director of policy; **Parvinder Sachdeva**, deputy director of policy; **Tasha Ismail**, director of operations; policy advisers **Celine Caira**, **Lambert Lorrain**, and **Marco Chan**; **Bianca Hossain**, special assistant for policy; **Theresa McManus**, operations adviser; parliamentary affairs and issues management advisers **Sam Eberlee** and **Alexander Jagric**; **Sarah Assoum**, special assistant for Quebec regional affairs; **Victoria Dempster**, Atlantic regional affairs adviser; **Tim Logan**, special assistant for B.C. regional affairs; **Amanda Woodley**, assistant to Liberal MP **Will Amos** as Mr. Bains' parliamentary secretary for science; and **Sean Matthew O'Neill**, assistant to Liberal MP **Ali Ehsassi** as the parliamentary secretary for innovation and industry.

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Feature

Parties of the past

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

With COVID-19 putting a pause on diplomatic gatherings in Ottawa, *The Hill Times* is offering a look back with (some never-before-seen) images of celebrations and special events that have occurred at this time in years past.

A Royal visit



Then-prime minister Stephen Harper greets Jordanian King Abdullah II on July 14, 2007, at what was then called the Department of Foreign Affairs headquarters in Ottawa.

Swiss soirée



Federica Lehner and her husband, the then-Swiss Ambassador Ulrich Lehner document the festivities at the Switzerland national day party at their residence on July 11, 2012.



Ms. Lehner, Mr. Lehner, and Anu'a-Gheyle Solomon Azoh-Mbi, high commissioner of Cameroon.



Sabine Witschel, wife of the then-German ambassador; Andrew Pocock, then-high commissioner of the United Kingdom; and Georges de la Roche Pihai, then-ambassador of Guatemala.



Rosa Bellina, wife of the then-Peruvian ambassador; Ms. Lehner, Mr. Lehner; and then-Peruvian ambassador José Antonio Bellina.

Bastille Day fun



Diana Mogollon de Suarez and her husband Francisco Suárez Dávila, the then-Mexican ambassador, greet then-French ambassador Nicolas Chapuis at the Bastille Day party on July 14, 2015.



Lilijana Pogorevcnik Cencen shares a laugh with Mr. Chapuis as her husband, then-Slovenian ambassador Marjan Cencen, looks on.

Bahamas envoy boogies



Michael Smith, then-high commissioner of the Bahamas, celebrates his country's national day on July 12, 2008.



The Royal Bahamas Police Force Band entertains guests.



Then-Swedish ambassador Ingrid Maria Iremark, Mr. Smith, and Jan Peter Thomas, the then-Swedish ambassador's husband.

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 15

House Not Sitting—The House has not met regularly since mid-March, when it was suspended amid the COVID-19 pandemic. The regular summer recess was scheduled to begin on June 24, but MPs agreed to meet as a committee of the whole on July 8, July 22, Aug. 12, and Aug. 26. The House is then scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks, as per the original House sitting calendar.

Senate Not Sitting—The Senate has adjourned until Sept. 22.

Cross Canada with Ambassador Cong Peiwu—The Canada China Business Council hosts a webinar on policies to encourage investment in China and liberalize trade. The webinar is geared to all five of its Canadian chapters simultaneously, followed by a roundtable discussion with Cong Peiwu, China's ambassador to Canada. Wednesday, July 15, from 11-11:45 a.m. Tickets are available for this Zoom webinar via Eventbrite.

Webinar: Impact of COVID-19 on Cancer Patients and their Ability to Receive Treatment—Hosted by the The Canadian Cancer Survivor Network. The COVID-19 pandemic has put cancer patients in the untenable situation of limiting access to essential cancer care, including tests, treatments and clinical trials, while at the same time having to worry about contracting COVID-19 in their immune-compromised condition. To assess the extent to which the disruption of cancer care caused by COVID-19 in Canada is impacting cancer patients and their caregivers, the Canadian Cancer Survivor Network (CCSN) engaged Leger, an independent market research agency, to conduct a national survey of more than 1,200 cancer patients and caregivers across the country. Join CCSN and Leger as we present the results of the COVID-19 & Cancer Care Disruption in Canada Survey.

THURSDAY, JULY 16

Confronting Anti-Black Racism in Corporate Canada—The Canadian Club of Toronto hosts a webinar on "Confronting Anti-Black Racism in Corporate Canada," featuring retired Canadian senator Dr. Donald H. Oliver; Andria Barrett, CEO of the Diversity Agency and president of the Canadian Black Chamber of Commerce; Wes Hall, executive chairman and founder, Kingsdale Advisors and founder and chair, BlackNorth Initiative; Rola Dagher, president and CEO, Cisco Canada; and David Simmonds, senior vice-president, communications and public affairs, McKesson and president-elect, Canadian Club Toronto. Thursday, July 16, online only, from noon to 1 p.m. Register via canadianclub.org.

Webinar: Canada's New Drug Pricing Rules, What Are the Implications for Cancer Patients?—Hosted by the The Canadian Cancer Survivor Network. New federal regulations governing the Patented Medicine Prices Review Board (PMPRB) and the regulation of drug prices will come into effect in six months' time (on Jan. 1, 2021). These changes have been very controversial. The PMPRB has just released its proposed guidelines to implement the new regulations and is now consulting on them with stakeholders and the public. Join CCSN and our presenters, Ryan Clarke from Advocacy Solutions and Wayne Critchley from Global Public Affairs, to learn more about the new drug pricing rules, the expected impact of the latest changes and implications for cancer patients, and receive guidance to support the cancer community's engagement at this stage of regulatory reform.

THURSDAY, JULY 23

The Future of Air Travel—The Edmonton Chamber of Commerce hosts a webinar on "The Future of Air Travel," exploring the future of business travel, managing travel restrictions, recovery plans, and the outlook for Edmonton, Western Canada, and tourism. Speakers include Ferio Pugliese, senior vice-president, Air Canada Express and Government Relations; and Tom Ruth, president of Edmonton International Airport. Thursday, July 23, from 10-11 a.m. Register online. Please confirm your attendance by Wednesday, July 22, at 4 p.m.

Mastering the Elements of Clear Political Communication—Ryerson University hosts a webinar, "Cutting through the Noise: Mastering the Elements of Clear Political Communication," featuring Alison Broddle, managing editor of digital content at the CBC; and Elamin Abdelmahmoud, news

Former senator Oliver joins panel to talk confronting anti-Black racism in corporate Canada on July 16



Former senator Donald Oliver will take part in a webinar hosted by the Canadian Club of Toronto on 'Confronting Anti-Black Racism in Corporate Canada' on Thursday, July 16 at noon. *The Hill Times* file photograph



Elamin Abdelmahmoud will talk about mastering the elements of political communication for a Ryerson webinar on Thursday, July 23. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

curation editor with BuzzFeed News and a columnist for CBC radio's Q. Thursday, July 23, from 3:30-5 p.m. Register for the Zoom event via Ryerson.

FRIDAY, JULY 31—SATURDAY, AUG. 8

#CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In—The National Arts Centre and RBC Bluesfest are pleased to announce they are coming together to present #CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In, a summer

weekend series of live concerts at the Place des Festivals Zibi site, by the Kitchissippi River (Ottawa River). Concert-goers, as small pods or families, will be encouraged to drive to the site and watch live concerts from their individual dedicated space. In order to safely welcome back audiences to watch live concerts, the Drive-In series will offer a physical distancing experience that respects reopening measures and protocols. Canadians will also be able to watch online



Marie-Mai headlines the first night of the #CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In concert series at the Place des Festivals Zibi site on July 31. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

the live-streamed concerts. Concerts will take place on Friday, July 31, Saturday, Aug. 1, Friday, Aug. 7, and Saturday, Aug. 8. Tickets on sale now. For the details, including additional dates and performers, go to: canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/

FRIDAY, AUG. 21

Conservative Party Leadership Contest—The federal Conservative Party's Leadership Election Organizing Committee, also known

as LEOC, announced on April 29 that Aug. 21 is the deadline for mail-in ballots, after the leadership was suspended on March 26 due to the global pandemic. The party says the winner will be announced once the ballots can be safely counted.

THURSDAY, OCT. 15

PPF Testimonial Dinner and Awards—Join us at the 33rd annual event to network and celebrate as the Public Policy Forum honours Canadians who have made their mark on policy and leadership. Anne McLellan and Senator Peter Harder will take their place among a cohort of other stellar Canadians who we've honoured over the last 33 years, people who have dedicated themselves to making Canada a better place through policy leadership and public service. The gala event will be held on Thursday, Oct. 15, at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre, 255 Front St. W., Toronto.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24

Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner—The Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner happens on Saturday, Oct. 24, in the Sir John A. Macdonald Building on Wellington Street in Ottawa.

FRIDAY, OCT. 30

CJF Awards Celebrating 30 Years of Excellence in Journalism—The Canadian Journalism Foundation Awards will be held on Oct. 30, 2020, at the Ritz-Carlton, Toronto, hosted by Rick Mercer, former host of *The Rick Mercer Report*. The CBC's Anna Maria Tremonti will be honoured. Tables are \$7,500 and tickets are \$750. For more information on tables and sponsorship opportunities, contact Josh Gurfinkel at jgurfinkel@cjf-fjc.ca or 416-955-0394.

TUESDAY, NOV. 3

U.S. Presidential Election—The U.S. presidential election is scheduled for Tuesday, Nov. 3, 2020. U.S. President Donald Trump is the Republican candidate and former vice-president Joe Biden is the presumptive Democratic candidate. The winner is scheduled to be inaugurated on Jan. 20, 2021.

THURSDAY, NOV. 12

Liberal Party National Convention—The Liberal Party of Canada announced the 2020 Liberal National Convention will be hosted in Ottawa, from Nov. 12-15. For more information, please contact: media@liberal.ca, 613-627-2384.

FRIDAY, NOV. 13

Bridging Divides in Wake of a Global Pandemic—The University of Victoria (UVic) and the Senate of Canada are bringing together change-makers at the Victoria Forum to help generate solutions to some of the world's most divisive problems. The two-day virtual forum will be held Nov. 13-14 to examine issues that fall under the theme of "Bridging divides in the wake of a global pandemic." The forum will draw on emerging trends and lessons learned from the COVID-19 pandemic through biweekly webinars. For more information or to register, visit www.victoriaforum.ca.

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to news@hilltimes.com by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best. Events can be updated daily online, too.

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